

Coloring the Sacred: Visions of Devotional Kinship in Colonial Peru and Brazil

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

My dissertation, “Coloring the Sacred: Visions of Devotional Kinship in Colonial Peru and Brazil,” spans disciplinary, linguistic, and imperial bounds to explore how local devotion to saints expressed through visual media informed broader debates on the enslavement and the spiritual conquest of “New” world populations in colonial Brazil and Peru. Specifically, I explore a range of social actors—African slaves, indigenous muleteers, Portuguese merchants, and Spanish clergymen—who contributed to the multi-directional process of “coloring the sacred” by producing, consuming, and circulating images of saints. Juxtaposing an iconographic analysis of sacred image-objects (paintings, prints, sculptures, crucifixes, and oratories) alongside textual sources, I historicize how lay devotion to saints and their images could simultaneously bridge and mark ethnic divides, thus contributing to rich theoretical debates on hybridity, religion, and the construction of race in the Iberian Atlantic world.

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Introduction

Color is the act and art of seeing... Color is a colonial subject.

- Michael Taussig

[R]ace has to be understood as a medium...a framework and support for the representations and perceptions of other social groups.

-W.J.T Mitchell

Religions and their visual cultures configure social relations, over time and space and between one world and another.

- David Morgan ¹

In 1651, an African slave painted a dark-skinned Crucified Christ on an adobe wall of a rustic residence in Pachacamilla, a marginal neighborhood on the outskirts of Lima. The painting anchored the devotion of an informal black brotherhood, one of many that flourished in colonial Peru.² After an earthquake razed the building but miraculously spared its mural painting, Jesuit missionaries promoted the iconic cult of the “Lord of Pachacamilla” among urban majorities of African descent. In subsequent years, worshippers performed their piety in visual terms, adding the weeping, pale-skinned figures of the Virgin and Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Christ. Spanish

¹ Michael Taussig, *What Color is the Sacred?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 47, 159. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Seeing through Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 66; David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 8-9.

² The anonymous slave painter has been referred to in modern scholarship as “Angolan” but defined as a “negro de Guinea” (a black from Guinea) in an eighteenth-century print source. The fluidity of ethno-racial terminology connected to trans-Atlantic slavery in early colonial Afro-Peruvian brotherhoods is discussed in Karen Graubart, “So color de una cofradía: Catholic Confraternities and the Development of Afro-Peruvian Ethnicities in Early Colonial Peru,” *Slavery and Abolition* 33, no. 1 (2011): 43-64.

civic and ecclesiastical authorities, however, condemned the nocturnal gatherings of black devotees that gathered at Pachacamilla and, in 1671, an indigenous artist, escorted by the Viceroy's armed guard and a notary, was sent to whitewash the brotherhood's mural.³ When the painter gazed upon the bloody Christ in the wall he immediately fainted, thus aborting his iconoclastic commission and furthering the image's miracle-working reputation. Half a century later, in the wake of a 1746 earthquake-tsunami that devastated Lima and its urban port, the tides of official discourse turned. Fearing the mass rebellion of dark-skinned lower classes, the absolutist Bourbon government determined to embrace the popular Christ as Lima's patron saint and protector, renaming the icon-cult the "Lord of Miracles."

As colonial authorities choreographed how to present the humble image on the public stage, an equally important visual process was also taking place that would commemorate the titular saint even as it obscured the icon's original meanings. In the eyes of officials, the sacred painting's associations with slavery and black suffering needed to be quietly buried so that a resurrected Lord of Miracles could serve as a triumphant symbol of a restored Catholic colonial order. A commissioned painter thus reframed the original icon by inserting the figures of God-the-Father and the dove of

³ Seventeenth-century Lima was a cosmopolitan port-city dependent upon the varied labors of free and enslaved black majorities, a heterogeneous population which included over two dozen linguistically, culturally, and ethnically-distinct African "nations." José Ramón Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: Esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 33-34.

the Holy Spirit above the Crucifixion scene to create a Trinity (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Anonymous, “Lord of the Miracles,” 17th and 18th century adobe mural, Church of the Nazarenos, Lima, Peru. Public Domain. [Creative Commons CC0 License](#).⁴

Though the Bourbon state’s reformist agendas were marked by Enlightenment regalism, the urban reconstruction of Lima rested not only on political collaboration with the Church but also with public accommodation of baroque piety.⁵ As such, the official enthronement of the city’s newly-elected patron included a ritual procession of

⁴ “Señor de los Milagros Nazarenas” photograph taken on 24 November 2006 by Miguel Chong, posted on Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page. Accessed February 21, 2019.

⁵ The 1746 earthquake that ravaged Lima also illuminated the fault lines in colonial discourse on religion and social order in the multiracial city. During the city’s reconstruction, the Viceroy, the Church, the Crown, and local populations were involved in heated political contestations that expressed divergent ideas about gender, race, and religion in the urban space. Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2008. Even as the Bourbon Catholic reforms focused on promoting the interior spirituality of individuals, the state had to continually negotiate public displays of baroque Catholic piety to collaborate with the Church it desired to subordinate. Pamela Voekel, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press), 2002; Brian Larkin, *The Very Nature of God: Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 2010.

the saint's silver-plated float carried through the streets. The reformed Lord of Miracles was reproduced on a portable canvas whose inverse displayed the Virgin of the Clouds, thus creating a gendered pair of saints visually conditioned by the processional float's movement through space (Figure 2).⁶



Figure 2: The processional image of the Lord of Miracles (L) with the Virgin of the Clouds on the inverse side (R). Public Domain. [CC0 License](#) and [CC BY-SA 4.0](#).⁷

⁶ Susy Rodríguez Sánchez, “Un Cristo moreno ‘conquista’ Lima: Los arquitectos de la fama pública del Señor de los Milagros (1651-1771),” in *Etnicidad y discriminación racial en la historia del Perú* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2002), 65-92; Classic studies of the devotional cult to the Lord of Miracles include Raúl Banchero Castellano, *Lima y el mural de Pachacamilla* (Lima: Editorial Jurídica), 1972; Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Pachacamac y el Señor de los Milagros: Una trayectoria milenaria* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos), 1992; Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S.J., *Historia del Santo Cristo de los Milagros* (Lima: H. Vega Centeno), 1957. For an anthropological analysis of the Lord of Miracles that considers the various historical actors—Afro-descended devotees, Jesuit missionaries, Hispanic elites—involved in crafting the devotional cult’s religious and political symbolism, see: Julia Costilla, “Guarda y custodia en la Ciudad de los Reyes: la construcción colectiva del culto al Señor de los Milagros (Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII),” *Fronteras de la historia* 20, no.2 (2015): 152-179.

⁷ “Señor de los Milagros de San Isidro” photograph taken on 7 November 2009 by Miguel Chong, and “Virgen de la Nube de Jesús Maria,” photograph taken on 8 November 2009 by Joselito11, posted on Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page. Accessed February 21, 2019.

Whereas Hispanic elites intended to transmit a restored Catholic hierarchical order, the processional float of the Lord of Miracle and visual apposition with the Virgin of the Clouds was a dialogic encounter, one in which culturally diverse publics interpreted the visual performance in myriad ways that diverged from the state's official discourse.⁸ How would Lima's multiracial majorities interpret the newly re-branded Lord of Miracles? Free and enslaved Africans and Afro-Peruvians might view the dark-skinned Christ self-referentially, seeing displayed through the icon their own cultural empowerment. The political institutionalization of a saint originally *crafted by and for* the African descent community could also be interpreted as a ritual disenfranchisement intent on limiting black social mobility. It is also possible that multi-ethnic populations who watched the processional float—in which the telluric, masculine Lord of Miracle preceded the ethereal maternal purity of the Virgin of Snow—could have imagined possibilities of devotional kinship that transcended the official transcript of Spanish cultural hegemony. Moreover, Central African cosmologies in which the world of the dead was colored white and bounded by an ocean may have informed these chromatic interpretations of the sacred power.

⁸ I deploy the term discourse to acknowledge that the production and dissemination of discourse, like knowledge, cannot be divorced from broader configurations of power. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 44-49. A discursive analysis is always political, since it involves “the *effects* and *consequences* of representations” while also focusing on “how the knowledge which a particular discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practiced and studied.” Stuart Hall, “Introduction” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997), 6.

On the other side of South America, in the Portuguese Captaincy of Brazil, the Church and Crown also confronted saints venerated by multiracial populations, especially in the southeastern agricultural hinterlands of São Paulo, which were commercially linked to the wealthy mining region of Minas Gerais.⁹ In 1717, three fishermen from the town of Guaratinguetá discovered the broken terracotta body of an Immaculate Virgin in the Paraíba River. Credited with a series of miracles, the dark, burnished sculpture of the Virgin was soon worshipped by mixed-race locals of African, indigenous, and European ancestry as “Nossa Senhora Aparecida” [Our Lady who Appeared] from the waters.¹⁰ Whereas seventeenth-century Hispanic creoles in urban Lima initially rejected the Lord of Miracles painted and worshipped by the dark-skinned lower classes, eighteenth-century Luso-Brazilian authorities in the Captaincy of São Paulo embraced the Virgin Aparecida popularly venerated by multiracial locals and sponsored the spread of official devotion across the colony’s swiftly-expanding

⁹ During the mid-seventeenth-century Portuguese colonists from São Paulo led *bandeiras*—armed expeditions—into the *sertão* to hunt for Indian slaves and to claim the wilderness. The municipal town of Guaratinguetá, situated along the banks of the Paraíba River, was established in 1651 by a wealthy class of Portuguese planters who depended on the labor of enslaved Indians and mixed-race peasants to clear forests and cultivate the land. The frontier region’s agricultural economy depended on the labor of enslaved Indians and commoners, both Portuguese and mixed-race *mamelucos* of indigenous and Portuguese descent. For a local history that examines the shifting regional development of this hinterland frontier over the course of Portuguese colonialism, see: Alida C. Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba 1580-1822* (Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1992.

¹⁰ The chapel that originally housed the Virgin was constructed between 1743 and 1745. Afterwards, the icon was credited to with a series of intercessory miracles including saving a child from drowning, rescuing a man attacked by a bear, and breaking the chains of a slave. Lourival dos Santos, “A cor da santa: Nossa Senhora Aparecida e a construção do imaginário sobre a padroeira do Brasil,” *Imaginário, cotidiano e poder* 3 (2007): 89.

frontiers.

During the eighteenth-century, the Portuguese colony's wealth was particularly linked to the gold and diamond mines of Minas Gerais, which fueled an exponential increase of African slaves imported through the ports of Salvador de Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. The rapid urban development of this interior mining region coincided with the social mobility of ex-slaves and free persons of African descent who also began to occupy privileged positions in the municipal government. As such, Luso-Brazilian elites' consolidation of the Virgin Aparecida was likely a strategic attempt to centralize state power within a colony marked by fluidity, mobility, and the blurring of color-based socio-political hierarchies. Moreover, it is possible that Luso-Brazilian authorities also promoted the Virgin Aparecida to express a *creole* patriotism based on a shared Marianic devotion with the Portuguese metropole.¹¹ Paralleling their Spanish Bourbon contemporaries in urban Lima, Portuguese religious and secular elites also visually reconfigured the Virgin Aparecida to fit with their political agendas.

The statue later hailed as Aparecida was first produced during the mid-seventeenth century by a local Benedictine friar-artist.¹² As a material representation of

¹¹ The Virgin Aparecida may also be historically linked to sixteenth-century Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe whose devotional cult spread in Brazil during the period of Iberian Union (1580-1640). Eduardo Hoornaert, *Historia general de la Iglesia en América latina*, vol. II/I: *História da igreja no Brasil* (Salamanca: Editorial Sígueme 1983), 350.

¹² Scholars have suggested that the terracotta statue was produced by the Benedictine Frei Agostinho de Jesus (1600-1661), a painter and a sculptor born in Rio de Janeiro who resided in monasteries in São Paulo and in Santana de Parnaíba. *Ibid.* 166.

the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception who, in 1646, was elected the patron saint of the newly “restored” Portuguese Empire of King Dom João IV, the original polychromed statue would have included, painted on the Virgin’s mantle, the imperial colors of dark blue and garnet red.¹³ When the sculpture was rediscovered during the early eighteenth-century, these bright pigments had long washed away, thus revealing the dark coloration conferred by its terracotta materiality (Figure 3).



Figure 3: (L) A sixteenth-century polychromed Immaculate Virgin (R) The Virgin Aparecida’s terracotta statue that would have been ritually dressed in a colorful mantle and outfitted with a golden crown.¹⁴

Significantly, the processual reconstruction of the Virgin of the Immaculate

¹³ Ibid., 40.

¹⁴ Image Source: (L) Edward J. Sullivan, Michael M. Hall, and Roberto DaMatta, Roberto, eds. *Brazil: Body and Soul* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2001), Figure 51. Andréa Maria Franklin de Queiroz Alves, *Pintando una imagen Nossa Senhora Aparecida -1931: Igreja e Estado na construção de um símbolo nacional* (Dourados: Editora Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados, 2013), 194.

Conception did not involve restoring the lost polychrome but rather adding a rosary to cover a break in the statue's neck. This material adornment, while perhaps a creative restoration, powerfully transformed the singular invocation of the Immaculate Conception—the Portuguese patron saint—into a plural Marianic icon visually linked with the Virgin of the Rosary, hailed as the patroness of slaves and popularly venerated by populations of African descent across the Luso-African Atlantic world. In other words, these image-making practices converted the Virgin Aparecida from a seventeenth-century Portuguese Immaculate Virgin into an eighteenth-century hybrid colonial saint whose symbolic power was equally recognized by white Portuguese elites and Afro-descended majorities.¹⁵

Portuguese governing elites thus redeployed the Virgin as a religious means to channel the political aspirations of freed blacks and mixed-race peoples whose social mobility, economic power, and suspected involvement in the contraband trade of goods and gold not only diverted tax-based revenue from the Church and Crown but also blurred the color-based hierarchies of Iberian colonialism and slavery. Similarly, by

¹⁵ An even more significant visual modification took place in the nineteenth-century when, to craft a national symbol of Brazilian-Catholic multiracial identity, the Virgin's face was darkened to mimetically evoke her mixed-race indigenous and Afro-descended devotees. Interestingly, nineteenth-century prints representing the Virgin involved chromatic shifts from black to white and back. Lourival dos Santos, "Igreja nacionalismo e devoção popular: as estampas de Nossa Senhora Aparecida 1854-1978," MA Thesis in History, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo), 2000. For the official biography of the Virgin and a more recent study of how political shifts were visually expressed, see: Júlio J. Brustolini, *História de Nossa Senhora da Conceição Aparecida: A imagem, o santuário e as romarias* (Aparecida: Editora Santuário), 2004; Rodrigo Alvarez, *Aparecida: A biografia da santa que perdeu a cabeça, ficou negra, foi roubada, cobiçada pelos políticos e conquistou o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Global), 2014.

collectively fashioning the dark-skinned Christ into a civic symbol of Peruvian Catholicism, Spanish royal and ecclesiastical authorities in Lima attempted to renew the fragile colonial pact that rested upon the fealty of mixed-race vassals of Spanish, African and indigenous ancestry. Today, these colonial saints are globally recognized by Peruvians and Brazilians as symbols of their respective nations' Catholic identity.¹⁶

The protean histories of the Lord of Miracles and the Aparecida Virgin reveal how visual practices were deployed to maintain, change, and challenge the socio-political and religious hierarchies of Iberian colonialism and slavery. The two seventeenth-century image-objects—the African slave's painting of a dark Christ and the Portuguese friar's sculpture of a terracotta Virgin—were both refashioned by eighteenth-century Church and Crown authorities to bridge class and cultural divides between elites and commoners of European, African, indigenous, and mixed-race descent. Notwithstanding Iberian elites' political agendas, multiracial ocular consumers of Lord of Miracles and Virgin Aparecida would likely comprehend the saints' color through their own cultural positions along the colonial historical continuum of slavery-

¹⁶ The patron saint of Lima's annual-feast day procession, instituted in the early nineteenth-century, not only continues to line the streets of Lima with the purple cloaks of multi-ethnic devotees but is also celebrated by Catholic across the globe. Camilo Gómez, "The Procession of the Señor de los Milagros: A Baroque Mourning Play in Contemporary Lima," MA thesis, Department of Anthropology McGill University (Montreal, Québec: McGill University), 2015; Karsten Paerregaard, "In the Footsteps of the Lord of Miracles: The Expatriation of Religious Icons in the Peruvian Diaspora" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34: 7 (2008), 1073-1089. On the spread of ritual pilgrimages to the Virgin Aparecida's shrine in Brazil, see: Tereza Galvão Pavin, *Senhora Aparecida: Romeiros e missionários redentoristas na história da Padroeira do Brasil*, Aparecida: Editora Santuário, 2015; and J. Eduardo Chemin, "Aparecida, Brazil: The Social Production of Space in the Largest Marian Shrine in the World," *Material Religion* 14, no. 1 (2017): 140-143.

freedom.¹⁷

Scholars have long explored how cross-cultural exchanges between European, indigenous, and African populations shaped the emergence of hybrid religious traditions and social practices in colonial settings.¹⁸ Yet they have often overlooked how saints venerated across the Portuguese and Spanish empires were *visually* mobilized to support, modify, and/or to subvert Iberian colonialism and slavery.¹⁹ By charting how saints were produced, consumed, and circulated in colonial Brazil and Peru, I show that these visual practices communicated shifting ideas about power and status that dialogued with trans-Atlantic debates about religious and racial difference.²⁰

¹⁷ My use of the “continuum of slavery-freedom” to express the practices, experiences, and ideological orientations of African-descent populations in mid-eighteenth-century Brazil borrows from Luiz Geraldo Silva’s article, “Afrodescendentes livres e libertos e igualdade política na América portuguesa. Mudança de status, escravidão e perspectiva atlântica (1750-1840),” *Almanack* no. 11 (2015): 602-632.

¹⁸ James Sidbury and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “Mapping Ethnogenesis in the Early Modern Atlantic,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2011): 181-208; Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2004; Ralph Bauer, *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2009; Stephanie Kirk and Sarah Rivett eds., *Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2014; Margaret J. Cormack ed., *Saints and their Cults in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press), 2007.

¹⁹ An exception to this is art historian Jeannette Favrot Peterson’s highly nuanced study of the Virgin of Guadalupe’s visual transformations as she crossed from Extremadura, Spain to the New World (Mexico/Peru) and back to Iberia. *Visualizing Guadalupe: From Black Madonna to Queen of the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2014. Another art historian takes a global approach to examine the contested mystical heart in eighteenth-century Mexican devotional iconography but does not focus on racial ideologies. Laure Kilroy-Ewbank, *Holy Organ or Unholy Idol?: The Sacred Heart in the Art, Religion, and Politics of New Spain* (Boston: Brill), 2019.

²⁰ Literary scholars have crossed the Portuguese and Spanish Americas but focused primarily on published textual accounts of ritual festivities. For example, Lisa Voigt has recently published a comparative study of eighteenth-century Potosí and Minas Gerais. *Spectacular Wealth: The Festivals of Colonial South American Mining Towns* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2016. Her former student, Miguel Valerio, has examined Afro-Iberian Atlantic rituals in Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and Brazil. “Kings of the Kongo,

In the context of the Counter-Reformation in Europe and in the Americas, religious artworks were recognized as persuasive tools of evangelization that could be used to illustrate theological concepts to largely illiterate populations and to promote lay devotion.²¹ Writing at the end of the sixteenth-century, the Jesuit priest Diego de Bracamonte praised his Italian-born colleague Bernardo de Bitti (1548-1610) for producing artistic vectors of spiritual conversion as “the Indians esteem these *exterior* things, in such a way that through their mediation, especially by way of paintings, they can apprehend spiritual concepts.”²² In the Jesuit priest’s teleological narrative of Catholic triumph, paintings of saints provoked the religious transformation of their Andean beholders. However, European missionaries who enlisted saints to effectuate the “New World” conversion could not control how saints were visually adopted, adapted, and redeployed by African and indigenous peoples to empower themselves within the colonial social order.

Diego Quispe Tito (1611-1681), an indigenous artist from Cuzco trained by

Slaves of the Virgin Mary: Black Religious Confraternities Performing Cultural Agency in the Early Modern Iberian Atlantic,” PhD Dissertation, Department of Spanish and Portuguese (Columbus: Ohio State University), 2017.

²¹ The invocation of specialized and general saints across Counter-Reformation Spain and in local regions is explored in classic works by early modern historians. William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1981; Sara Tilghman Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 1992.

²² Emphasis my own. “[...]lo mucho que pueden para los indios las cosas *exteriores* en especial las pinturas de suerte que mediante ellas cobran estima y hacen concepto de las espirituales.” Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, *Pintura y pintores en Lima Virreinal* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1964), 5.

Bitti in Italian-Spanish mannerism and to copy Flemish prints, developed a hybrid iconography that transcended all these already-mixed European styles while shaping how Andean Christianity was imagined and represented. My research locates the visual production of colonial artists like Quispe Tito within an historical ensemble of regional image producers, patrons, and consumers who, in (trans)forming the religious, cultural, and political meanings of the saints in Peru and Brazil, colored understandings of power and race across the Iberian Atlantic.

Considering Peru and Brazil together yields new insights into shared Iberian political and religious debates that informed how race operated within legal discourse, social practices, and visual processes. Spain and Portugal were shaped by common historical legacies that they brought to their overseas colonies, such as the violent Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims and the entrenched discrimination against “New Christian” minorities, including Jewish *conversos*, Muslim/Arab *moriscos*.²³ Fifteenth-century Portuguese and Castilian global expansion—both conquest and exploration—and the rise of trans-Atlantic slavery in the “Old” World also informed the theological-juridical discourse that justified

²³ The Portuguese imported African slaves during the 1450s to cultivate sugar on the Atlantic island of Madeira and utilized indigenous slave labor to log brazilwood on the coast of Brazil between 1500 and 1530. See: Neil W. Whitehead, “Native Americans and Europeans: Early Encounters in the Caribbean and along the Atlantic Coast,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World: 1450-1850*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 55-70; and A. J. R. Russell-Wood, “Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440-1770,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (1978): 16-42.

sixteenth-century “New World” colonization as an missionary enterprise of Iberian royal patronage authorized by papal bulls.²⁴ Under the Habsburg King Philip II of Castile (r. 1556-1598), Spain, Portugal, and their overseas colonies were also united for over a half century. Even after this period known as the Iberian Union (1580-1640), Spain and Portugal remained entangled through imperial territorial negotiations both domestic and overseas.²⁵ The Iberian empires had *connected histories* conditioned by shifting bureaucratic alliances between the Church and Crown and the geographic mobility of a global network of cultural brokers that included royal officials, merchants, missionaries, and enslaved Africans.²⁶

Notwithstanding their shared Iberian Catholic spheres of influence, the histories of the Spanish and Portuguese “New World” conquests and colonization were also marked by the differential administrative power of the Church. The Spanish Church

²⁴ The famous 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas delineated the royal patronage of the Crowns of Castile and Portugal though the eastern-western divides of the Tordesillas line, with Spanish dominion over eastern territories and Portuguese dominion over western territories—including Brazil. However, a series of papal bulls dating from the 1450s fostered the rise of trans-Atlantic slavery by granting the Portuguese Crown a sovereignty over the Southern Atlantic seas and along the Western African coastline. On the influence of fifteenth-century papal bulls on the development of canon law see: James Muldoon, “Papal Responsibility for the Infidel: Another Look at Alexander VI’s *Inter Caetera*,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (1978):168-184.

²⁵ The way in which papal lines of demarcation shaped cartography in Spanish and Portuguese America has also been discussed. See, for example, Neil Safier, “The Confines of the Colony: Boundaries, Ethnographic Landscapes and Imperial Cartography in Iberoamerica,” in *The Imperial Map* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 133-184. For a critical overview of how imperial territorial boundaries in Iberia and the Americas were collectively (re)constructed through the varied interactions of multiple cultural agents see: Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 2015.

²⁶ Serge Gruzinski, “Os mundos misturados da monarquia católica e outras *connected histories*,” *Topoi* 2, no. 7 (2001): 175-195; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007): 1359-1385.

had a strong bureaucratic presence in late sixteenth-century Peru that included an Inquisition in Lima, five dioceses, and a wide auxiliary network of secular and religious clergy to evangelize native populations. Following the 1583 Provincial Council in Lima, which established legislative norms to regulate indigenous evangelization and included the publication of bilingual sermons and catechisms, the colony's ecclesiastical administration was further consolidated.²⁷

In contrast with Spanish America, the Portuguese Church in Brazil was isolated and underfunded by the Crown such that wealthy Portuguese, lay brotherhoods, and Third Orders often built churches that served as parish seats. For the entire period of Portuguese colonialism, the vast geographic regions of Brazil only included seven bishoprics and one archbishopric in Salvador de Bahia (made a diocese in 1551 and elevated to archbishopric in 1679).²⁸ Moreover, there was no Inquisition in Brazil. Rather, the Lisbon Tribunal made rulings on accused persons in the Portuguese colony. During the period of the Iberian Union, two local Inquisitorial visitations were held in Bahia (1591-1593 and 1618-1620), which predominately prosecuted Portuguese

²⁷ The Castilian Crown's intimate ties with the Church in the Americas are extensively documented. For a classic study, see: James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press), 1994.

²⁸ Jesuits were among the first religious orders in Brazil, arriving in 1549, and were followed by Franciscans, Carmelites, and Benedictines. Confraternities and Third Orders attempted to bridge the gap left by the episcopal institution and founded private chapels and convents to promote devotion to Catholic saints. Lay brotherhoods served as auxiliaries to the Portuguese Empire but also expressed local power and politics. Isabel Guimarães Sá, "Conversion in Portuguese America," in James Muldoon, ed. *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), especially pages 202-204; Caio César Boschi, *Os leigos e o poder: (irmandades leigas e política colonizadora em Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Editora Atica. Caio Boschi), 1986.

converso “New Christians” accused of Judaizing as well as bigamy, blasphemy, witchcraft, concubinage, and sodomy; the next local investigation in Brazil did not take place until the mid-eighteenth-century. Historian James Wadsworth has argued that “for much of the colonial period, the Portuguese ruled northern Brazil directly from Lisbon as an entirely distinct state.”²⁹

While diverse in its institutional expressions, Peru and Brazil were mutually supported by an Iberian Catholic legal discourse that attempted to condition, and was in turn conditioned by, colonial populations. For example, the Crown’s juridical system of dual republics (*república de indios*) and (*república de españoles*) differentiated between colonial vassals of European, indigenous, and African ancestry through legislation on sumptuary codes, commercial activities, tribute and taxation, and guild membership. However, royal decrees that sought to incorporate indigenous, European, and African subjects within a colonial socio-political and religious hierarchy were both inconsistently applied and enforced. Racially, socially, and culturally heterogeneous populations regularly mingled in convents, marketplaces, ports, and homes where they circulated ideas, practices, and objects—including relics and images.³⁰

My historical research is anchored on a methodological-theoretical approach to colonialism as a contested visual process reciprocally entangled with cultural

²⁹ James Wadsworth, “The Portuguese Inquisition and Delegated Authority in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil,” *The Americas* 61, no. 1 (2004): 19.

³⁰ Nancy van Deusen, “Circuits of Knowledge Among Women in Early Seventeenth-Century Lima,” In *Gender, Race and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 137-150.

perceptions and social practices of signifying difference and similitude. By considering Spain and Portugal together, I show how their religious colonization projects were articulated through a racially-coded visual discourse. Just as the Portuguese invented the term “fetish” to demonize African ritual objects, the Spaniards also weaponized language through the conceptual deployment of “idol” to refer to all native materializations of sacred power.³¹ Despite the linguistic, historical, and historiographic challenges of studying the Portuguese and Spanish Atlantic empires together, I believe that broadening the geographic and temporal scope to track local shifts in the religious imagery of Brazil and Peru from the early sixteenth through the late eighteenth centuries can illuminate past and present debates on hybridity and race.³²

Constructing Race in the Early Modern Iberian Atlantic

My research contributes to scholarship on race in the Early Modern Iberian Atlantic by focusing on visual practices as a discursive terrain where power relationships were imagined and contested. Much scholarship on critical race theory has linked the beginnings of racial formations to the rise of the modern political state, specifically, its dependency on the trans-Atlantic slave trade to propel and sustain the

³¹ James Lorand Matory, *The Fetish Revisited: Marx, Freud, and the Gods Black People Make* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2018.

³² Stuart Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2010.

plantation economy.³³ As such, these scholars tend to privilege the temporal arch of modernity and to position the eighteenth-century Enlightenment as the time in which racism was born vis-a-vis pseudoscientific theories on the relationship between biology and human nature. Such scholarship positions modernity as a Western “arrival,” a singular period ruptured from the past coincident with the rise of capitalism, the political formation of the state, and the spread of plantation system-slavery. In other words, these Western teleological periodizations of modernity fail to consider the *longue durée* of race-like logics and how the religious politics of constructing human difference in premodern, nonwestern societies operated in ways that parallel and/or resonate with modern processes of racial categorization.³⁴

As cultural theorist Geraldine Heng has cogently noted, by privileging modernity as a “racial time,” canonical scholarship on race has neglected to explore the “long history of race” and how modern configurations of race as a somatic/ biological/ cultural trait, as ethnicity, and as religion were foreshadowed in medieval times.³⁵ In the same manner, she notes that premodernists who deny the use of race within their

³³ For example, see Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Race,” *Critical Terms for Literary Study* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 274-287; David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Oxford: Blackwell), 2002; Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 2000; Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge), 1986.

³⁴ In a recent article, Geraldine Heng argues for the utility of a deep history of race, one which conceptualizes “historical time as oscillating between ruptures and reinscriptions and embedding multiple temporalities within each historical moment,” in “Reinventing Race, Colonization, and Globalisms across Deep Time: Lessons from the *Longue Durée*,” *PMLA* 130 no. 2 (2015), 360.

³⁵ See Geraldine Heng, “The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages I: Race Studies, Modernity, and the Middle Ages,” *Literature Compass*, 8 no. 5 (2011): 258-274.

historical analyses, instead using terms like “difference” and “otherness,” have thus colluded with the reification of a Western telos of modernity as a singular moment when race was invented. To remedy this historical oversight and the academy’s exclusion of nonwestern temporalities and geographies from modernity and race theory, Heng proposes that scholars must bear witness to race-making as a trans-historical political process “in which strategic essentialisms are posited and assigned through a variety of practices and pressures, so as to construct a hierarchy of peoples for differential treatment.”³⁶ In other words, premodern and early modern articulations of cultural and/or religious difference—such as the expulsion of the Jews from the 15th century Iberian Peninsula—involved a proto-racial ideology in which individuals and communities were essentialized according to perceived traits and marked as “others” within a social hierarchy that asserted the biopolitical dominance of some human populations over others.³⁷

Historian James Sweet charts the origins of Iberian ideas about race to the spread of sub-Saharan African slavery during the fifteenth century, when Iberians’ hegemonic ideas about blood purity crystallized as a means for Old Christians to demonize not only Jewish and Muslim populations (their internal others), but also

³⁶ Ibid., 267-268.

³⁷ Many scholars have grappled with these debates on the applicability of race as a concept in medieval settings. David Nirenberg, “Was There Race Before modernity? The Example of ‘Jewish’ Blood in Late Medieval Spain,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 232-264; Robert Bartlett, “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Identity”, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001), 39–56.

newly imported black slaves. White and tawny-skinned Iberians—Muslims, Jews, and Christians—shared a cultural perception of blacks as Others, associating color difference with the stigmatized status of slaves from sub-Saharan Africa, and channeling blackness as a visual index of the purported cultural and religious inferiority of enslaved Africans.³⁸

The use of the term, “race” in colonial Latin American has likewise been hotly contested.³⁹ Scholars have criticized the application of race to colonial contexts by arguing that it overlooks the significant intersections of caste, class, gender, religion, and kinship ties in shaping individual and collective subjectivities.⁴⁰ Other researchers

³⁸ It is not surprising that Christians and Jews living in early modern Iberia would adopt the color prejudices against the perceived blackness of their Islamic neighbors since, beginning in 711, Muslim caliphates controlled much of the Iberian Peninsula. Negative stereotypes about black Africans were also linked to contemporary theories about the influence of climate on populations’ moral and intellectual capacities, though “whether climate theory preceded and informed black stereotypes or the stereotypes preceded and informed climate theory” cannot be determined. James H. Sweet, “The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 146.

³⁹ Historian Peter Wade has long criticized the uneven use of race in scholarship by noting that indigenous populations are described in terms of ethnicity whereas peoples of African descent are discussed in racial terms. See his *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (Sterling: Pluto Press), 1997. Other scholars, however, provide nuanced histories of the intersections between the ethnic and racial identities of indigenous and Afro-descent populations. María Elena Díaz, *The Virgin, The King, and The Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2000; Jonathan W. Warren, *Racial Revolutions: Antiracism and Indian Resurgence in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2001; Livio Sansone, *Blackness Without Ethnicity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2003;

⁴⁰ In her comprehensive *longue durée* history of colonialism within a hinterland region in southeastern Brazil, Alida Metcalf privileges family economic structures and kinship relations to discuss the *mamelucos* of mixed European and indigenous ancestry and uses the term color instead of race. *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Paraíba, 1580-1822* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 1992. In the Spanish Americas, many historians have privileged the use of caste. For example, historian Laura Lewis argues that “while race was produced through taxonomies developed to exclude from power individuals western science construed as essentially different due to blood, ancestry, or color, caste constituted a more ambiguous and flexible set of qualities that combined social affiliations, kinship and inherent differences as

have argued against race as a conceptual tool because of its ideological associations with nineteenth-century racisms (pseudo-scientific constructions of biological difference) and contended that applying race or racial terminologies to the colonial era is anachronistic.⁴¹ These critiques suggest that scholars who deploy race fail to problematize its social constructedness and/or neglect to differentiate modern racial constructions from the medieval roots of Iberian religious discourse on *limpieza de sangre* (purity-of-blood) that was wedded to fictive ideas about genealogy and honor.⁴²

In her comprehensive study of the historical development of the Iberian ideology of blood purity and its shifting application to the Spanish American colonies, historian María Elena Martínez has explained how *limpieza de sangre* functioned to limit privileged civil, ecclesiastical, and military offices to “Old Christians” who could legally authenticate that their lineage had not been stained by Jewish or Muslim blood.⁴³ This classificatory discourse was transplanted and modified in the Spanish colonies as new legal and socio-cultural categories—*indio, mestizo, negro, mulato*—

it worked to facilitate incorporation into systems of power.” *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 3-4.

⁴¹ David Távarez has argued that “race” and “ethnicity” (scare quotes are his) are modern terms which fail to account for the complexity of “casta identification” during colonialism. “Legally Indian Inquisitorial Readings of Indigenous Identity in New Spain,” in *Imperial Subjects: Religious and Racial Identities in Colonial Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 81.

⁴² For an excellent overview of historiographic debates as well as an apology for the contested terms of race and identity see: Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O’Hara “Introduction” in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 1-37.

⁴³ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2008.

were invented to legitimize European elites' socio-political and economic dominance.

The Crown's creation of a colonial *sistema de castas* (caste system) with concomitant taxonomies used to categorize subjects (and to tax them accordingly) was also deeply tied to religious concerns. The Catholic Kings' political sovereignty authorized by the papal *patronato real* (royal patronage) was contingent upon the Christianization of colonized populations. As such, the Crown continually legislated decrees that attempted to inhibit the potential spread of "pagan" beliefs to the colonies by voluntary as well as forced migrants. For example, royal officials and European emigrants had first authenticate their blood purity (ie: "Old Christian" status) before traveling overseas.⁴⁴ Similarly, during the initial period of the slave trade begun in the 1540s, the Crown decreed that that "only blacks born in the power of Christians, or who had at least resided on the Peninsula long enough to be baptized" be imported into the Spanish Americas.⁴⁵ However, this royal legislation on the slave trade that sought to exclude "heathens" or "enemies of the faith" (ie: Islamicized peoples) from entering the colonies was later reversed. During the 1660s, the Crown allowed enslaved blacks from any nation to be imported into its colonies due to increasing market demands for forced labor coupled with the widespread belief that black slaves directly

⁴⁴ Ibid., 167.

⁴⁵ Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 28.

imported from Africa were more easily subjugated.⁴⁶

Literary scholars, anthropologists, and historians have deeply engaged with Martínez's pathbreaking work while also arguing that race as an analytical concept can be used to effectively problematize the socio-cultural construction of hierarchies and categories of colonial difference in Latin America.⁴⁷ By examining how "Spanishness" emerged in the colonial context alongside the invented juridical/cultural category of "indio" applied generically to culturally, linguistically, and ethnically diverse indigenous peoples, scholars have demystified the idea of a unified Hispanic cultural identity.⁴⁸ Recent publications on indigenous, African, and mixed-race (*castas*) populations have likewise greatly enriched our understandings of the fluid and multiple ways in which racial and ethnic categories were imposed, used, and de-stabilized by heterogenous social classes. Colonial vassals likewise exploited the ambiguities and loopholes within the Crown's legal discourse to stake political claims. For example,

⁴⁶ Rachel O'Toole *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and The Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2012), 48.

⁴⁷ Norah L. A. Gharala, *Taxing Blackness: Free Afro-Mexican Tribute in Bourbon New Spain* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press), 2019; Ben Vinson, *Before Mestizaje: The Frontiers of Race and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 2018; Herman L. Bennett, *Colonial Blackness: A History of Afro-Mexico* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 2011; Ben Vinson and Matthew Restall eds., *Black Mexico: Race and Society From Colonial to Modern Times* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 2009; Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith eds., *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2009; Laura Gotkowitz, *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial times to the Present* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2012; Peter Wade, *Degrees of Mixture, Degrees of Freedom: Genomics, Multiculturalism, and Race in Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2017.

⁴⁸ Barbara Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 88-98.

across the Iberian Atlantic world upwardly mobile indigenous and African-descent populations exploited legal openings within the Crown's racial hierarchies to purchase or receive a royal dispensation of the "stain" of color, blood, illegitimacy, and/or mechanical defects.⁴⁹

By analyzing the multiplicity of ethno-racial terms together with their uses, reception, and modifications, these studies have illuminated how colonial difference could be signified and/or de-stabilized through discursive legal performances and used to mark internal and external social hierarchies.⁵⁰ Even outside of court proceedings, colonized and enslaved subjects could also manipulate Iberian discourse on difference (cultural, religious, gendered, racial, social, etc.) through strategic appropriation, selective rejection, and/or adoption of its classificatory hierarchies in confraternity

⁴⁹ This included mixed-race person of African or indigenous descent petitioning the Spanish Crown to be legally dispensed of the "stain" of impure blood through a taxation system of *gracias al sacar* (the royal dispensation of whiteness). Ann Twinam, *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2015. Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth-century, Afro-Brazilians likewise petitioned the Portuguese Crown for this legal dispensation of the "defect" of blood, color, and illegitimacy, to become ordained as priests. Anderson José Machado de Oliveira, "Dispensa da cor e clero nativo : poder eclesiástico e sociedade católica na América Portuguesa," in *Dimensões do catolicismo no Império português (séculos XVI-XIX)* (Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2014), 199-229.

⁵⁰ Mónica Díaz, ed., *To Be Indio in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press), 2017; José Carlos de la Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans: Seeking Justice and Reward at the Spanish Royal Court* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2017; Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth Century Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2015; Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, *Sobreviviendo a la esclavitud: Negociación y honor en las prácticas cotidianas de los africanos y afrodescendientes. Lima, 1750-1820* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos), 2018; Leo Garofalo, *Taverns, Witches, and Marketplaces: Ethnicity and Race in Colonial Peru* (Chicago: Sussex Academic Press), 2015; Sherwin K. Bryant, Rachel Sarah O'Toole, and Ben Vinson, eds., *Africans to Spanish America: Expanding the Diaspora* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 2012; Mariana L. R. Dantas, "Humble Slaves and Loyal Vassals: Free Africans and their Descendants in Eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, Brazil," in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 115-140.

administration and social practices.⁵¹

My research builds upon these scholarly approaches that seek to “unfix” race through an historically and culturally grounded analysis of visual practices deployed by Andean elites, Jesuit missionaries, mixed-race commoners, and free and enslaved Africans to dialogue with the power hierarchies and the racializing politics of Iberian colonial rule vis-à-vis Catholic saints.⁵² Throughout the Luso-Hispanic-American empire, the saints were visually consumed by European, African, indigenous, and mixed-race people *en masse*, individually, and within Catholic brotherhoods. Paintings, prints, and sculptures of saints were referenced in sermons from the pulpit, and, on special occasions, taken from their niches in the church, perfumed and dressed in luxurious clothing and jewels donated by wealthy individuals, monarchs, bishops, and local brotherhoods, and paraded through the streets. The visual invocation of saints as intercessors between this world and the next took many forms but involved hybrid cultural performances that (re)configured racial identifications and colonial power

⁵¹ Martha Few, *Women Who Live Evil Lives: Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala, 1650-1750* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2003; Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2004; Joan Cameron Bristol *Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 2007; Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), 2006.

⁵² Kathryn Burns, “Unfixing Race,” in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 188-202; Anada Cohen-Suarez, “Making Race Visible in the Colonial Andes,” in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 187-212.

relations.⁵³

Hybridity and Colonial Visual Practices

By examining how saints were made, interpreted, regulated, and received in the Peru and Brazil, I engage with scholarly debates that have viewed colonial artistic processes through the lens of hybridity. Academics across disciplines have long embraced hybridity to describe cultural exchanges, transfers, and the composite products of culturally-distinct traditions, religions, and technologies, the use of the postcolonial trope has also been widely contested. Critics of hybridity argue that the term is problematically associated with biological *mestizaje* (race-mixing) and thus threatens to reify the fiction of a primordial purity or authenticity. Hybridity and its associated lexicon—creolization, *mestizaje*, transculturation, syncretism—has also been rejected as a dualistic mode of thinking about cultural exchanges that threatens to view colonized subjects’ traditions as “remainders” or “survivors” of the colonizers’

⁵³ Celia L. Cussen, *Life and Afterlife of Fray Martin de Porres* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 2014; and “El barroco por dentro y por fuera: redes de devoción en Lima colonial,” *Anuario Colombiano de historia social y de la Cultura* 26 (2003): 215-225; José Ramón Jouve Martín, “En olor de santidad: hagiografía, cultos locales y escritura religiosa en Lima, siglo XVII,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 13, no. 2 (2004): 181-198; Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, “Cult, Countenance, and Community: Donor Portraits from the Colonial Andes,” *Religion and the Arts* 15, no. 4 (2011): 429-59; Scarlett O’Phelan, *Mestizos reales en el Virreinato del Perú: Indios nobles, caciques y capitanes de mita* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2013), 157-205; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro* (Durham: Duke University), 2011; Mary Karasch, *Before Brasília: Frontier Life in Central Brazil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016), 215-246.

contamination.⁵⁴

Scholars have also contended that as an analytical tool hybridity presumes structural equivalences between European and native cosmologies absent from initial cross-cultural contacts. For example, anthropologist Wyatt MacGaffey defines fifteenth-century European-African religious encounters as a “dialogue of the death” in which conceptual incongruencies resulted in mutual misunderstandings. Similarly, historian James Lockhart proposed that early Spanish-indigenous exchanges were marked by a “double-mistaken identity” in which neither party “takes cognizance of the other side’s interpretation.”⁵⁵

Scholars have also argued against the generic deployment of hybridity to selectively describe *colonial* processes without considering the long histories of Western global exchanges with Asia, Africa, and the Americas that materially and culturally transformed metropolitan centers long before European overseas conquest and colonization.⁵⁶ We must recognize, as anthropologist Christopher Pinney has

⁵⁴ Other terms for hybridity include antropofagia, nepantlism, borderlands. For a critique of visual hybridity see: Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn. “Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5-35.

⁵⁵ Wyatt MacGaffey, “Dialogues of the Deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic Coast of Africa,” in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 249-267; James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 445.

⁵⁶ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1993), 2; Vanita Seth, *Europe's Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500-1900* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2010; Serge Gruzinski, *The Eagle and the Dragon: European Expansion and Globalization in the 16th Century* (Boston: Polity Press), 2014; Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G.

eloquently argued, that overseas colonialism involved “a double splitting of an originary Europe *that is itself already creolized or hybridized.*”⁵⁷ To do this, researchers must not only consider the fractured nature of European polities, such as dynastic nation-states and composite monarchies, but also how the global nature of inter-imperial rivalries and alliances. To fully grapple with the dynamism of hybridity as it unfolds across national and imperial frameworks, we must also consider the “entangled histories” of global exchanges within the early modern Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific worlds.⁵⁸

By tracking the culturally-entangled histories of hybrid iconographic production in sixteenth-century Renaissance Europe and New Spain (Mexico), Serge Gruzinski has effectively illuminated the constructedness of binaries between colonizer/colonized and center/periphery.⁵⁹ Latin Americanists have also argued that hybridity should be viewed as an unfolding process of constructing knowledge/power.⁶⁰ In her 2010 monograph, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru*, Kathryn Burns

Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th - 18th Centuries)*, (New York: Oxford Univeristy Press), 2015.

⁵⁷ Emphasis in the original. Christopher Pinney, “Creole Europe: The Reflection of a Reflection,” *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 20 (2002): 125-126.

⁵⁸ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, and Benjamin Breen, “Hybrid Atlantics: Future Directions for the History of the Atlantic World,” *History Compass* 11, no. (2013): 597-609.

⁵⁹ Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York: Routledge 2002), 79-132.

⁶⁰ The term knowledge/power is from Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (Harmondsworth Penguin, 1981), 92–102.

examines the historical production of notarial documents as hybrid process involving a variety of makers/users who together crafted and enacted the (con)texts of customary law.⁶¹ By surveying the social, material, and cultural practices that shaped scribes' production and consumption of legal documents, she offers an historically grounded approach to conceptualizing hybridity as processual mechanism through which "blended, composite" agents, who produced the written archive, could textually inscribe themselves within colonial power relations.⁶² Moving beyond Spanish written sources to examine native ritual practices visualized in glyphs, codices, and maps and textually expressed in indigenous language sources, historians and anthropologists have also demonstrated how hybridity *allows* for the colonial persistence of Mesoamerican and Andean cosmologies.⁶³

Scholars engaging with visuality have also demonstrated the power of hybridity to decenter European epistemologies using innovative approaches to examine transversal flows of image-making practices, technologies, and subjectivities of seeing and being seen between and within colonies and metropolises.⁶⁴ In her nuanced study of mimetic visual networks between Indian and British artists working in the colony

⁶¹ Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), x.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶³ Pete Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2012; Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2002.

⁶⁴ Alejandro Cañeque, "Imaging the Spanish Empire: The Visual Construction of Imperial Authority in Habsburg New Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no 1 (2010): 26-68.

with their counterparts in the metropole, art historian Natasha Eaton bears witness to the centrality of “non-Western art in the formation of British taste, aesthetics, and artistic production.”⁶⁵ Most recently, in their co-edited volume, *Empires of Vision*, Jay Martin and Sumathi Ramaswamy provide a critical analysis of the reciprocal constructions of visibility and empire in which global flows of goods, peoples, and ideas entangled the colony and the metropole.⁶⁶ Both editors together with their volume contributors affirm the central role of visibility within a broader constellation of (post)colonial ideologies, relationships, and practices while also highlighting the transformative capacity of image-objects to destabilize imperial hierarchies and the biopolitics of territorial space.⁶⁷

My dissertation draws from these diverse scholarly approaches by investigating the centrality of colonial artists, patrons, and publics who, by producing, consuming, and exchanging the saints’ image-objects not only shaped the hybrid emergence of local Catholicisms but also trans-Atlantic ideological debates on cultural and racial

⁶⁵ Natasha Eaton, *Mimesis Across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India, 1765-1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 7.

⁶⁶ Sumathi Ramaswamy, “Introduction: The Work of Vision in the Age of European Empires,” in Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy eds., *Empires of Vision: A Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014) 1-22; and Martin Jay, “Conclusion: A Parting Glance: Empire and Visibility,” *Ibid.*, 609-620.

⁶⁷ Michael Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books), 1978; *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books), 1980; *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality, Vol. 2* (New York: Vintage Books), 1985; *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality, Vol. 3* (New York: Vintage Books), 1986. Drawing from Foucault’s theory of biopolitics as a tactic of governance linked to surveillance, Daniel Nemser has explored spatial biopolitics of race in colonial Mexico, see: Daniel Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2017.

difference.

Picturing social and racial difference stands at the center of a recent boom of scholarship on the Spanish American genre of *casta* paintings that were consumed by European elites and often sent to Spain. Scholars have linked these commissioned paintings to Iberian concepts of *limpieza de sangre* [purity-of-blood], yet they have glossed over the local painters who produced these visual taxonomies of an imagined empire, many of whom were not European.⁶⁸ Even as they engaged with colonial power relationships through their artistic production, the multiple subjectivities of the *casta* painters cannot be overlooked, nor should they be considered as merely performing “the *habitus* of colonial values assigned to racial relationships.”⁶⁹

Though exciting, this scholarship has failed to fully examine the power

⁶⁸ The majority of *casta* paintings, which were produced in eighteenth-century Mexico by both anonymous and famous artists, have been studied extensively by art historians. Magali Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2003; Ilona Katzew, *Casta Paintings: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2004; Ilona Katzew, *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2011. The *casta* paintings are secular except for one Mexican painting that includes the Virgin of the Guadalupe. See: Sarah Cline, “Guadalupe and the *Castas*: The Power of a Singular Colonial Mexican Painting,” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 31, no. 2 (2015): 218-47. The only known *casta* paintings to be produced in Peru were commissioned by the viceroy Manuel de Amat y Junyent and sent to the Spanish King Carlos III in 1770. Natalia Majluf, ed., *Los cuadros de mestizaje del Virrey Amat: La representación entográfica en el Perú Colonial* (Lima: Museo del Arte de Lima), 1999. A recent exhibition catalogue includes several essays that consider the *casta* paintings in relation to nineteenth and twentieth-century national and trans-national ideas about race. Susan Deans-Smith and Ilona Katzew eds., *Race and Classification the Case of Mexican America* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press), 2009.

⁶⁹ Thomas B.F. Cummins, “Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico,” *The Art Bulletin* 88, no. 1 (2006): 186. On the local and trans-Atlantic consumption of these paintings and the complex relationship between artists and patrons, see: Susan Deans-Smith, “Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 14, no. 2 (2005): 169-204.

dynamics between patrons, painters, and their publics and perhaps underplayed how this exceptional genre of *casta* paintings was limited in scope. By shifting our gaze from this genre of paintings commissioned and consumed by European elites to examine the broad corpus of Catholic image-objects (sculptures, prints, paintings, altarpieces, etc.) whose wide visibility crossed social, geographic, and imperial divides, my dissertation addresses this problem while contributing to rich scholarly debates on hybridity and racial formations in colonial Latin America.

Africans and their descendants who constituted a racial majority in the sixteenth-century Iberian capitals of Salvador de Bahia and Lima not only sustained commercial economies but also forged devotional kinship communities through membership in Catholic lay sodalities where they organized rituals around their patron saints' image-objects. Saints' relics, and iconic effigies were worshipped in coastal city churches and in chapels on sugar-cane plantations, in convents and in domestic chapels. These image-objects were dressed and carried in ritual processions, whipped, kissed, fondled, burnt, bequeathed, put on trial, used as credit, and shipped back and forth between and among individuals in the colony and the metropole. Rather than reading saints as imperial tools that "inculcated a religious unity among diverse peoples and projected imperial values across the Atlantic to the Americas," I consider the ambiguous symbolism of saints whose varied meanings reflected the culturally

subjective visualities of historically situated viewers.⁷⁰ How should we interpret the sixteenth-century sculpture of the Virgin of Copacabana produced by an Andean nobleman in the highlands of modern-day Bolivia and quickly embraced as a miracle-working icon with pilgrims and devotees across regional and imperial divides?⁷¹ What might the Andean Virgin's "true replicas" signify to her seventeenth-century viewer-devotees in the coastal entrepôts of Lima and Rio de Janeiro, and in the cosmopolitan cities of Rome, Madrid, and Sicily of the Iberian Atlantic Mediterranean? Was the Virgin of Copacabana merely a cultural "go-between" to translate the Iberian Catholic religious hierarchies among diverse imperial subjects or was she something more implicitly transgressive, a counterhegemonic power-move through which the previously denigrated artistry of native peoples irrevocably transformed the colonial imaginary?

To address these questions, my research considers both the formal qualities of image-objects used and/or produced in the Andes and Brazil and entangled with global art networks without establishing temporal or artistic periodizations. I do not naturalize local production through European stylistic movements such as Baroque, Rococo, etc.

⁷⁰ Cornelius Conover argues "that cults of saints actually reinforced imperial ties between Mexico City and the Spanish Crown...[because] municipal officials adopted Spanish saints and royal devotions while rejecting holy figures from foreign lands and even saints from other Spanish American cities." "Catholic Saints in Spain's Atlantic Empire" in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 88.

⁷¹ Luisa Elena Alcalá, "Beginnings: Art, Time and Francisco Yupanqui's Virgin of Copacabana" in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 141-168.

Deploying Western nomenclature to define colonial visibility (i.e. “Andean Hybrid Baroque”) perpetuates Eurocentrism, since, as art historian Susan Verdi Webster reminds us, “naming is not a disinterested endeavor.”⁷² I contend with visual evidence as a problematic historical source itself, one entangled in a dialogic relationship with a variety of other graphic and non-graphic texts, including ritual performances, that might also entail the “crystallization of beliefs that were difficult or dangerous to verbalize” under the inquisitorial eye of the Church and Crown.⁷³

Hybrid visual practices, I argue, functioned as dynamic sites of struggle where the fault lines of imperial Catholic discourse on cultural and religious difference could be illuminated, challenged, and contested.⁷⁴ As Michael Taussig argues, the history of colonialism can be framed through “a spiritual politics in which image-power is an exceedingly valuable resource.”⁷⁵ Without ignoring power relations between subjugated groups and dominant elites, primarily Spanish and Portuguese emigrants and their American-born descendants, I interpret hybrid image-objects (including sculptures, paintings, prints, and heraldic devices) as powerfully ambivalent sources

⁷² I agree with Susan Verdi Webster’s critique of Gauvin Bailey’s pursuit of *seeing* “hybridity” as a “form of racial profiling.” “Book Review: The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru.” *The Americas*, 68, no. 2 (2011): 276.

⁷³ Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner, 1492-2019* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 163.

⁷⁴ Building on Bhabha’s foundational work, historian-critic Robert C. Young has reinvigorated hybridity as a “key word” to describe strategies and places of counterhegemony, which by nature, implies “the impossibility of essentialism.” *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 27.

⁷⁵ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 17.

that could generate and refract ideologies; cross boundaries between space/time, human/divine, colonizer/colonized; and shape meanings, perceptions, and values.⁷⁶

To fully comprehend shifting perceptions of race and religion in colonial contexts we need to contemplate the intersections, tensions, alliances, and divergences between visual and verbal discourse and to consider the material dimensions of rituality.⁷⁷ Religious and civic celebrations throughout the Iberian Atlantic world included staged ritual performances of non-European kingship as Inca and African Kings, Queens, and their court of masqueraded dancers, musicians accompanied their brotherhoods' processional floats bearing bejeweled images of their patron saints.⁷⁸ How might the spatial and temporal juxtaposition of these racialized bodies—the Catholic saints and the African/Andean Kings and Queens—communicate ideas about sovereignty and power that diverged from Iberian hegemonic discourse on colonial difference? Saints were not only historically and conceptually wedded to religious processes but also, I argue, inextricable from the visual construction of what Achille Mbembe refers to as the “vertiginous assemblage” of the “open-ended signifier” that is

⁷⁶ Nancy Farriss, “Introductory Essay: The Power of Images,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 1 (2010): 5-28.

⁷⁷ Caroline Garriott, “Carrying Water on Both Shoulders: Material Archives and Andean Ritual in Mid-Colonial Huamanga, Peru,” in *Crítica de la razón andina* (Raleigh: Editorial A Contracorriente / UNC Press, 2018), 61-94.

⁷⁸ Cécile Fromont, “Dancing for the King of Congo from Early Modern Central Africa to Slavery-Era Brazil,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 22, no. 2 (2013): 184-208; Elizabeth W. Kiddy, “Who is the King of Congo? A New Look at African and Afro-Brazilian Kings in Brazil,” in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 153-183.

racial discourse and its corollary racisms.⁷⁹

To address the dynamism of colonial hybridity I borrow theoretical and methodological insights from historians as well as scholars working in the fields of performance studies, postcolonial theory, and visual and material culture. I read colonial image-objects as polysemous signifiers with agentive power to provoke responses that affected local viewers perceptions and trans-Atlantic configurations of religion and race. Rather than a semantic descriptor or byproduct of cross-cultural exchanges, I examine hybridity as the visual circulation of conflicts, complicities, and negotiations between and among Europeans, Africans, Indians, and their mixed-race descendants in Brazil and Peru that interfaced with religious configurations of race across the Iberian Atlantic. In other words, I consider that race operated through colonial religious discourse that was manipulated, transformed, and re-inscribed within hybrid visual practices in Peru and Brazil. Borrowing from Homi Bhabha's definition of colonial discourse, I examine the wide and shifting visual "repertoire of positions of power and resistance, domination and dependence that constructs the colonial subject (both colonizer and colonized)."⁸⁰

Thus, I pay attention to the visual politics of religious images which were often embraced by culturally, socially, and ethnically-diverse populations in the "New"

⁷⁹ Achille Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 6.

⁸⁰ Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," in *Visual Culture: A Reader* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005), 370-371.

world and in the “Old,” but whose meanings and uses shifted over time and place. Building on previous scholarship by art historians, I consider how hybridity was not always visible as an *appearance* but rather a conceptual framework linked to a variety of practices that conditioned and/or generated the meanings, perceptions, and values attributed to sacred image-objects.⁸¹ This is particularly relevant in the case of image-objects produced by indigenous or Afro-descended artists trained in Western techniques. How should scholars interpret these visualizations that emerged from the asymmetries of power and spatial temporalities of the “contact zone”?⁸² Are these hybrid image-objects even if their formal contours do not suggest distinctions from traditional European iconography? How might the saints’ hybrid visualizations elicit culturally distinct meanings depending on the viewers’ subjectivities? The colonial challenge of *ekphrasis* persists when images are used to illustrate *a priori* arguments, thereby divorcing them from the specific contexts of their production, reception, and circulation. Rather than a textual analysis supplemented by the visual, my research critically examines visual and textual sources to show how saints were mobilized by

⁸¹ Art historian Susan Verdi Webster has documented the indigenous master-architects who built the churches of Cuzco. ““La voz del anonimato”: Authorship, Authority, and Andean Artists in the Construction of Colonial Quito,” in *Arts of South America* (Denver Art Museum, 2010), 57-88; and in her more recent book she also discusses the role of painters and guilds. *Lettered Artists and The Languages of Empire: Painters and The Profession in Early Colonial Quito* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2017.

⁸² Mary Louise Pratt defines contact zones as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today.” “Arts of the Contact Zone” *Profession* 91 (1991): 34. She also theorizes contact zone as a “perspective [that] emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other.” *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 7.

multi-ethnic lay populations to interrupt or disrupt Iberian hierarchies of racialized power linked to colonialism and slavery.

Sources, Theory, and Methods

My dissertation analyzes a rich and varied textual corpus of pictorial and written documents from archives, manuscript collections, and image-databases in Peru, Brazil, Spain, Portugal, and the United States to track the intersections, convergences, and divergences between Iberian discourse on race and the fluid, multiple, and shifting subjectivities of colonial populations. Free and enslaved persons of indigenous and African ancestry deployed multiple and varied legal institutional, and performative techniques and strategies to visually interface with Iberian Catholicism. However, the archive is often silent when it comes to the reception of saints' images, especially in terms of indigenous and Afro-descended peoples' perspectives.

To flesh out my arguments and hypotheses for how viewer/users interpreted and deployed saints to reproduce, subvert, or transform colonial hierarchies of racialized power, I historicize a broad constellation of pictorial and textual sources that were produced and used by subaltern and elite populations. By juxtaposing visual sources—paintings, watercolor illustrations, and statues—alongside written documents including missionary chronicles, travelogues, festival accounts, petitions and royal legislation, I consider discursive dialogues and divergences. This approach allows me to locate patterns, motifs, and distinctions that suggest the plausible meanings, polyvocal

possibilities, and ideological orientations of cultural reception. For example, by analyzing the frontispiece illustrations from black brotherhoods' *compromissos* (charters/bylaws) alongside the textual content of their chapters and in relation to diverse contemporaneous sources, I pinpoint discursive shifts that suggest the ambivalent power of the sacred image and its potential as a de-stabilizing instrument of Iberian colonialism.

Both religious and secular texts were inscribed within a historical-cultural matrix of power and filtered through the bureaucratic apparatus of the Church and Crown. As such, colonial written sources tended to communicate through rhetorical formulas that were designed to persuade the intended audience to result in ideological and/or pragmatic changes. For example, Inquisition proceedings from Brazil channel religious discourse to inscribe the ritual practices of free and enslaved peoples of African descent as diabolical inversions of Iberian Catholicism. I propose to read texts through the repressive apparatus of the Inquisition in Lisbon as they reflexively engage with broader cultural matrices of power. Firstly, I consider how religious language coded racial fears and desires towards indigenous and black populations as an ideological tool to support Iberian Catholic hegemony. Secondly, I contend with the inferred or direct relationship between these trial proceedings and their specific historical setting to examine the ritual exchanges between and among indigenous, African, European, and mixed-race peoples as structured through client-patron

networks that diverged from colonial power relations and racial hierarchies. Through this processual deconstruction of inquisitorial documents, I reckon with the ideological and structural inequalities of colonialism and slavery but also bear witness to marginalized populations whose forging of spiritual kinship networks, both within and beyond institutional Catholicism, reenvisioned color and sacred power.

Rather than solely examining how hybrid cultural processes are reflected through image-objects, I consider their political mobilization as visual instruments that support, interrupt, transgress, and even subvert the Catholic hegemonic discourse of racial hierarchy. I argue that locally produced as well as imported Catholic image-objects functioned ambiguously as 1) colonial battlegrounds where perceptions of internal and external difference could be visually advanced and challenged and as 2) powerful mechanisms of community cohesion through shared devotion to saints that crossed ethnic, cultural, and class divides.

Thinking with colonial image-objects is a hermeneutic challenge.⁸³ I take into consideration both the cultural polyvalence of visual symbols and how they accrued cultural meanings over space and time. To analyze the specific instances in which sacred image-objects reciprocally engaged with persons, places, things, and ideologies, I read visual sources as mobile inter-texts which “by default, are linked to other texts,

⁸³ Even art historians that embrace perspectives from cultural anthropology and visual studies tend to dichotomize “art” and “object/thing.” Edward J. Sullivan, *The Language of Objects in the Art of the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2007; Esther Pasztory, *Thinking With Things: Toward A New Vision of Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2005.

objects, people and institutions in relations of dependency, involvement and interaction.”⁸⁴ How was meaning inferred from the sacred-image objects seen, used, and produced by a variety of “spect-actors” in colonial contexts?⁸⁵ I find theatre historian Joseph Roach’s theory of surrogacy to be a powerful conceptual tool to think about the cultural possibilities of saints’ ideological entanglement with people, practices, and ideas.⁸⁶ In his seminal 1996 book, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, Roach compares black diasporic performances in the urban ports of eighteenth-century London and twenty-first century New Orleans to develop a theory of surrogacy through which Afro-descended populations across time and space reconstituted genealogies of kinship through kinesthetic performances in which they served as surrogates who embodied the memory archive fractured by the psychological trauma and social loss of slavery.⁸⁷

Like Roach, I consider the processual nature of culture-in-the-making. Saints are powerful surrogates for colonial populations as they too are sacred living bodies “with qualities that give them a special aura ... an intimacy with the divine that places

⁸⁴ Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 11; William Hanks, *Intertexts: Writings on Language Utterance and Context* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield), 1999.

⁸⁵ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and The Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 2016.

⁸⁶ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1996.

⁸⁷ Surrogacy implies that “the memories of some particular times and places have become embodied in and through performances.” *Ibid.*, xi.

them on a threshold between this world and the next.”⁸⁸ I interpret Catholicism in both the Andes and Brazil as forming part of an evolving religious landscape in which saints’ image-objects played a key role in bridging the dialectic of the historical past and present. In other words, rather than a binary separation of pre and post-Conquest time, I consider how temporal and cultural slippages might inhere within or be generated through colonial performances that relied upon visual semantics to communicate their meanings to diverse audiences. For example, in the northeastern sugar-cane region of Pernambuco, African slaves and their mixed-race descendants collected alms to celebrate the feast day of their brotherhoods’ saints and carried mobile oratories containing their celestial intercessors with them in the streets. Whites, blacks, and mixed-race peoples of all social classes who encountered these sacred simulacra were expected to lower their heads reverently and kiss the saints. Did saints shared by whites, blacks, and mixed-race peoples reflect a process of religious transculturation through which African and/or indigenous traditions such as ancestral worship inhaled within the Catholic saint’s image-object?⁸⁹ If so, when and where did it originate? How did it circulate among trans-Atlantic devotees? While deepening discussions on missionary texts that circulated throughout the Iberian Atlantic world, I am particularly concerned with the how lay devotees mobilized sacred image-objects in

⁸⁸ Robert Kiel, *Blessed and Beautiful: Picturing the Saints* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 45.

⁸⁹ James Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 63.

ways that might parallel the ritual performances of Inca and African kingship perceived as mimetic threats to European imperial sovereignty.⁹⁰

Dissertation Structure

My dissertation is concerned with tracking, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, key moments of visual conflicts, allegiances, or contestations where saints' image-objects connected with broader ideas about race and power. As such, it considers the similar and different visual strategies used by colonized Andeans who persisted in place and enslaved Africans displaced from their homelands to reconstruct power hierarchies and devotional kinship networks through Catholicism. To do this, I pay attention to global processes that connected "Old World" historical developments with "New World" colonialism and slavery. While grounded in and conditioned by Catholic institutional hegemony, I argue that lay devotion to saints might articulated understandings of community, kinship, and authority that directly or implicitly challenged Iberian hierarchies or slavery and colonialism.

Each of my chapters involves a chronologically and geographically broad approach to colonial visibility that often includes moving between geographically

⁹⁰ Homi Bhabha defined colonial mimicry as "the desire for a reformed and recognizable other, as a subject of difference that is *almost the same* but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference." Emphasis in the original. *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 122.

distinct regions and across empires.⁹¹ In chapter one I examine the dynamic interpenetration of clergy and laity in the production, promotion, and global dissemination of two black saints from sixteenth-century Sicily whose devotional cults were embraced by multi-racial populations in the slave societies of colonial Brazil. My initial move consists in historicizing popular devotion to two black saints—Saint Benedict “The Moor” and Saint Anthony of Catalagirone—as it spread across the Iberian and Mediterranean Atlantic World. I show how European Catholic elites promoted black sanctity as an ideological tool to support slavery and Iberian colonial power. Here, moving beyond Western perceptions of blackness, I examine how lay populations of African descent across the seventeenth-century Iberian Atlantic world reconfigured color and sanctity, grounding it through their own lived experiences, cosmologies, and culturally-specific understandings of kinship. Moreover, I argue that in Central Africa and in Portuguese Brazil, free and enslaved populations of African-descent conceptualized the black saints as celestial ancestors who mimetically evoked their own privileged Christian kinship in heaven and on earth. These visual invocations of the black saints’ intercessory power illuminated the internal contradictions within Catholic ideological justifications for African slavery contingent upon blacks’ spiritual but not terrestrial equality. Through a critical examination of two black Catholic

⁹¹ Claire Farago, “Understanding Visuality,” in *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 239-255; Pamela Anne Patton, *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America* (Leiden: Brill), 2016.

brotherhoods in late seventeenth-century Salvador de Bahia, I highlight how local and imperial agents—free and enslaved populations, artists/scribes, ecclesiastical authorities, and royal officials—who were involved in the official establishment of the black brotherhood fashioned the multiple significances of black sanctity. Finally, by analyzing parallels and divergences between the two brotherhoods' institutional bylaws (*compromissos*), I illustrate how urban populations of African-descent who maintained or undermined Brazilian slavery also visually dialogued with broader political debates about the color-based hierarchies of Iberian colonialism.

In chapter two, I look at the mutual entanglements between Portuguese colonialism in West Central Africa, trans-Atlantic slavery, and the ritual development of Afro-Brazilian Catholicism between the sixteenth and eighteenth-centuries. By cross-referencing a variety of textual and written sources (travel accounts, inquisition sources, ethnographic images, and missionary reports), I demonstrate how colonial fears and desires were linked to black ritual performances across the Iberian Atlantic. I argue that colonial slave-holding elites who acknowledged the sacred power of African healing-divination practices—whether in promoting and/or persecuting ritual practitioners—expressed anxieties specifically related to the shifting color-hierarchies of Brazilian slavery. Free and enslaved populations of African-descent not only used hybrid ritual traditions to address the ailments of their diverse clientele but likewise channeled institutional Catholicism to consolidate new cultural and meta-ethnic

identities. The varied responses of culturally diverse peoples of African-descent to Portuguese colonialism irrevocably colored the ritual landscape of Catholicism as African Kings and Queens' performed black sovereignty in public processions across the Iberian Atlantic World.

My third chapter takes a broad chronological scope to explore changes in indigenous visuality in colonial Peru between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. By examining the literary and visual construction of Conquest miracles during the Incas' Siege of Spanish Cuzco (1536-1537), I illustrate the way in which historical divergences between Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous narrations of the miracles of Cuzco related to the specific, evolving religious and political agendas of their author-artists. I demonstrate that, whereas sixteenth-century Spanish conquistadores credited the defeat of indigenous rebels to their own military prowess, seventeenth-century European, indigenous, and mixed-race authors claimed the apparitions of the Virgin Mary and Saint James as miracles that neutralized indigenous soldiers. By the eighteenth-century culturally-diverse populations in Cuzco, both descended from Spanish conquistadors as well as Inca sovereigns, visually inserted themselves within the city's sacred space and Christendom at large through paintings depicting the Conquest miracles. These discursive shifts, I argue, reflected the growing symbolic capital of the Conquest miracles among Cuzco's colonial populations while testifying to the "joint creation" by both Andean and European

populations of a hagiographic cycle anchored upon the former Inca capital's sacred space and codified in written and pictorial texts.

In my fourth chapter, I chart the evolution of Andean religion under Spanish colonialism through an examination of key visual episodes that bear witness to the processual transformation of indigenous and European ritual cosmologies. I argue that Andeans established a reciprocal dialogue with Catholic missionaries which, even as it was grounded in unequal colonial relations of power, mutually altered the cultural identities of both the colonizer and the colonized. I show how Spanish missionary discourse both inadvertently and explicitly promoted Andean cosmological understanding of the sacred *camay*—an activating force embedded in geography but capable of metamorphosis and immaterial change. This chapter also historicizes the way in which hybridity could inhere in both imported and locally-produced Catholic image-objects originally embraced by indigenous populations who ritually linked them to a localized Andean geography. Lastly, I contextualize the ambivalent relationship between the visual and the verbal by examining the late eighteenth-century decorative program of one indigenous parish church located on the outskirts of Arequipa. By surveying a series of religious commissions, I demonstrate how colonial artworks articulated through the European-Christian genre of miracle-paintings reflected Andean ways of seeing and apprehending the sacred landscape.

Chapter 1. Seeing (through)Blackness: Contested Visions of Color and Sanctity in Seventeenth-Century Brazil¹

“I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon. Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother’s children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept.”

Song of Songs 1:5-6, King James Version (KJV)

These verses from “Song of Songs,” attributed to the Shulamite maiden, offer an entry-point into theoretical and historical discussions about color difference and religion in the early modern world. Besides associating her dark appearance to the black-hair tents of Kedar and the temple curtains of Jerusalem and forced labor in the sun, the Shulamite bride of King Solomon also proclaims her beauty, thus suggesting blackness as a polyvalent signifier with moral, cultural, and aesthetic associations.² The biblical woman was not only interpreted in a variety of ways—as an Old Testament prototype of the Virgin Mary; as the Ethiopian Queen Sheba; and as an allegory for the universal Church (the bride of Christ)—but also codified through a “black but beautiful” rhetorical trope in

¹ This chapter’s title is inspired by W.J.T. Mitchell’s recent monograph, *Seeing Through Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 2012. Here, I use blackness as a discursive category that intertwined the cultural, moral, and aesthetic meanings of color with social dynamics of colonialism and slavery.

² A Shulamite or Shunamite is a person from Shunem in northeastern Israel (the modern-day Arab village of Sulam). Kedar refers to an adjective as well as a person—“dark-skinned, the second son of Ishmael (Gen 25:13)”; a collectivity—“the nomadic tribes of Arabs, the Bedouins generally, who dwelt in the north-west of Arabia...in black-hair tents” (Isaiah 21:16; 42:11; 60:7; Jeremiah 2:10; Ezekiel 27:21; Canticles 1:5); and a spiritual state of being—“to dwell in the tents of Kedar” meant to be “cut off from the worship of the true God” (Psalms 120:5), Matthew George Easton, “Kedar,” in *Easton’s 1897 Bible Dictionary* (Wheaton, Ill: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1998), 559.

intertwined with far-reaching theological-juridical debates about trans-Atlantic slavery and Iberian colonialism.³

Frei Apollinário da Conceição (1692-1760), who served as the chronicler of the Franciscan Order in Brazil, articulated the multiple, overlapping, at times competing, meanings of color difference, race, and conversion in textual descriptions of non-European Christianity.⁴ In his 1744 Lisbon publication, *Flor peregrina por preta, ou nova maravilha da graça* [A Black Peregrine Flower, Or the New Marvel of Grace], he strategically coupled the “black but beautiful” discursive construction with botanical metaphors to inscribe the blackness of the recently-beatified Saint Benedict within universal Christendom.⁵

³According to historian Kate Lowe, the Latin adage—*nigra sum, sed formosa*—“black but beautiful”—was codified as a linguistic trope that inscribed human diversity within the *corpus mysticum* of the universal Church while reifying the oppositional binaries of black/white, dark/light, and good/evil. “The Global Consequences of Mistranslation: The Adoption of the “Black but...” Formulation in Europe, 1440-1650,” *Religions* 3 (2012): 544-555.

⁴In 1711, Frei Apollinário da Conceição arrived in Brazil with his parents and became a lay brother in the Franciscan Convent of São Paulo. He returned to Portugal in 1724 in his newly-appointed position as the Procurador of the Provincia da Immaculada Conceição do Brazil (part of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin, an offshoot of the Franciscans). He returned to Brazil in 1728, and while residing in the Convento de São Antonio in Rio de Janeiro, he composed his first work, *Pequenos na Terra Grandes no Céu* (5 vols., Lisboa 1732-1754). In 1729, he returning to Portugal to begin his chronicle of the Franciscan Order in Brazil, completed in 1730 and first published in 1732. On the biography of Conceição, see Frei Apollinário da Conceição, OFM *Epítome do que em breve suma contém a Sta. Provincia de N. Sra da Conceição...* Lisboa 1730 (MS), 84-87. Conceição’s 1730 *Epítome* includes several references to the early seventeenth-century growth of Saint Benedict’s devotional cult in Brazil. The original manuscript, located in the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, transcribed and was published in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Vol. 296 (Julho-Setembro 1972): 68-165.

⁵Frei Apollinário da Conceição, *Flor Peregrina por preta, ou nova maravilha da graça: Descuberta na prodigiosa vida do B. Benedicto de S. Philadelfio religioso leigo da Provincia Reformada de Sicilia* (Lisboa: Na Officina Pinheiriense da Musica, 1744), n.p.

According to the Portuguese chronicler blackness was not a “dishonorable stain” but rather a medium through which Saint Benedict was converted into “a singular and peregrine flower” in the heavenly “Garden of Divine Grace, which *has no limits to fecundity*.”⁶ Moreover, he affirmed the symbolic power of a “a saint of his color” in spreading global Christianity across color and class divides by writing: “you were the first to emerge from the accident of blackness to move so many illustrious whites to the primacy of Beatification, and the placement of your Images on the Altars of the Militant Church.”⁷ Though Frei Conceição offered up Saint Benedict as an effective missionary tool to strengthen and maintain Catholicism, free and enslaved populations of African-descent across the Iberian Atlantic world also invoked black sanctity to visualize alternative understandings of power, color, and kinship.⁸

By analyzing a rich corpus of textual and pictorial sources including chronicles, hagiographies, sermons, and brotherhood *compromissos* [institutional charters] produced between the seventeenth and eighteenth century, this chapter explores shifting

⁶ Emphasis my own. “[...] o Jardim da Igreja da Divina Graça, que em a fecundidade não conhece limites, adornando-o com huma flor tão singular, e perigrina, como em todo o rigor negra, qual foy nosso Bemaventurado Benedicto... tão rara, porque negra (tacha que não a desdoura, antes a ilustra)...” Conceição, *Flor Peregrina por preta*, 1-2.

⁷ “[...]foste, e sois vóis a primeiro, que como pretinho nos accidents lhe sahio, como por primeira sorte, levando a tantos ilustres brancos a Primazia em a Beatificacao, e colocação de vossas Imagens nos Altares da Militante Igreja...huma sorte de vossa cor.” Ibid., n.p.

⁸ By using the term “black” follows my seventeenth and eighteenth-century historical sources, including European hagiographers and their contemporaries who, besides referring to populations of African-decent as “preto” or “negro,” often used the terms “preto Africano” and “escravo Africano” interchangeably. Blackness as an analytic category and a discursive construction not only drew from older Judeo-Christian concepts about purity, slavery, and sin but also related to shifting religious and socio-political debates about color difference that crossed the early modern Atlantic world.

constructions of black sanctity in relation to the most pressing theological and sociopolitical concerns of the day, namely, the enslavement and evangelization of African-descended populations in the Iberian Atlantic world—and particularly, in the Portuguese colony of Brazil. In doing so, I highlight the convergences and divergences between text and image, as well as the internal contradictions between the Church’s justifications for African slavery and its recognition of black saints, as exemplified in the case of Saint Benedict, commonly referred to as “The Moor” or “The Black”.⁹ On the one hand, European Catholic elites who often aligned themselves with the Church and Crown’s support of black slavery represented the black saints as model Christian slaves whose patient suffering earned them the heavenly prize of their souls’ freedom. Africans and their free and enslaved descendants in seventeenth-century Brazil, on the other, channeled the visual power of the black saints to further their Catholic institutional privileges in ways that challenged the color-based hierarchies of Portuguese slavery.

Mobilizing the Saints: Images of Slavery and Christian Kinship

The devotional biographies of the two sixteenth-century black saints bear witness to the trans-Atlantic connections between African slavery and Catholic conversion. Saint Anthony was likely born around 1491 in the mountainous region of Barca (part of the

⁹ Giovanna Fiume, the contemporary Italian biographer of Saint Benedict, has published several works concerning the friar’s ecclesiastical processes for beatification and canonization including *Il santo moro. I processi di canonizzazione di Benedetto da Palermo (1594-1807)*, Milano: FrancoAngeli Storia (2000); “Lo shiavo, il re e il cardinal. L’iconografia secentesca di Benedetto il Moro (1524), *Quaderni storici*, 121 (2006): 165-2008; and most recently, “Saint Benedict the Moor: From Sicily to the New World” in *Saints and their Cults in the Atlantic World*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press 2007), 15-61.

Muslim territories of Libya) and may have been captured as a child by Christian galleys who sold him, along with his parents, into slavery.¹⁰ In the earliest published biography of the black Saint Anthony, published in Valladolid in 1611, the Spanish Franciscan chronicler Antonio Daza (d. 1640) highlighted slavery as necessary for the Christian conversion of pagans and Muslim infidels. For example, by describing him as “the son of Moorish parents” who was “born and raised in the law of Mohammad” and a “black like those of Guinea, Xalofe, and Monicongo” Daza underscored Saint Anthony’s genealogical links to religious impurity.¹¹ Notwithstanding the stigma of his religious ancestry, Daza also affirmed the sincerity of Saint Anthony’s conversion by noting that he embraced Christianity “without any sort of duplicity or malice” and assumed the baptismal name of the famous Portuguese thaumaturge Saint Anthony (c. Lisbon, 1195 – d. Padua, 1231).¹²

¹⁰ Beginning in the second half of the fifteenth century, the Barbary (Arab) corsairs engaged with a “holy war” with the Western Mediterranean world, raiding Christian territories and taking slaves from their base in North Africa. With the expansion of the Ottoman Empire through the eastern Mediterranean during the sixteenth century, Christian privateers, particularly Sicilian and Spanish galleys, were licensed to engage in maritime battles against Turkish corsairs and to raid the Maghreb (Muslim territories of North Africa) in order to “redeem” Christian slaves and to enslave Muslim and African “infidels.” On the history of European slavery, see Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, The Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Palgrave MacMillan), 2003. For a general overview of the Barbary Corsairs, see Jacques Heers and Jonathan North, *The Barbary Corsairs: Warfare in the Mediterranean 1480-1580* (London: Greenhill), 2003; and Alan G. Jamieson, *Lord of the Sea: A History of the Barbary Corsairs* (Reaktion Books), 2013.

¹¹ “[...]negro como los de Guinea, Xalofe y Monicongo, sino tambien Moro, nacido y criado en la ley de Mahoma, y hijo de padres Moros, y negros...” Antonio Daça, *Quarta parte de la chronica general del nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco y su Apostolica Ordem*, Vol 1 (Valladolid: Juan Godínez de Millis y Diego de Córdoba, 1611), 156.

¹² “[...] sem nenhum tipo de dubiedade ou de malícia.” Ibid.

During his lifetime—as a slave for thirty-eight years and afterwards as a Franciscan lay tertiary—Anthony exemplified the Christian virtues of humility, penitence, and charity. For example, while laboring for his master in the fields outside of Ávola, he dedicated himself to serving the region’s *bestiamari* (shepherds) by cooking, making cheese, and crafting reed baskets. In addition to these domestic laborers, Anthony externalized his profound interior spirituality by flagellating himself with a cilice and a rock and, channeling his devotion to the Virgin of the Rosary, he also distributed rosaries to the poor.¹³ Given that, while in Africa or aboard a slave ship, Jesuit missionaries instructed enslaved Africans to recite the prayers of the rosary, even bringing with them portable altars containing images of saints along with them in slave ships, Anthony’s devotion to the Rosary may have originated prior to his European arrival.¹⁴ It is also possible that, considering his North African ancestry, Anthony was already familiar with the Muslim *al-salahat* or *al-comboloya*, an instrument for prayer or divination consisting of palm seeds or forty knots tied around string commonly used by African populations in

¹³ Antonio de Randi, *De vita, morte et miraculis*, c. 7. Cited in Giovanni Fiume, “Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouro: O escravidão santo e o preto eremita,” *Afro-Asia* 40 (2009): 59.

¹⁴ During the fifteenth century, Dominican friars began promoting lay devotion to the Virgin of the Rosary and Jesuit missionaries also adopted the rosary as an instrument to catechize enslaved Africans. The popularity of the Virgin of the Rosary among populations of African-descent is exemplified by the fact that in the Convent of São Domingos in Lisbon the white confraternity of Virgin of the Rosary was founded in 1484, black populations later established a separate black confraternity in 1496. A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1982), 151; Linda M. Heywood, “The Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections,” *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 1 (1999):10.

sixteenth-century Sicily.¹⁵ Saint Anthony not only expressed his Catholic faith through charitable works and penitential practices but also through restorative miracles. Besides healing paralytics and assisting women in labor, he also cured free and enslaved populations suffering from leprosy, tumors, kidney stones, hernias and other ailments.¹⁶ According to his Franciscan chronicler, towards the end of his life Anthony's owners "feared having as a slave someone who had God as his friend; and thus they gave him the letter of manumission and a license to go freely wherever he desired."¹⁷ In other words, he linked Saint Anthony's earthly freedom to his social reputation as a miracle-worker.¹⁸ Even after the elderly man was manumitted, Anthony remained in the service of his former owners for four more years, later professing as a lay tertiary in the Franciscan Convent in Noto where he dedicated himself to charitable works such as collecting alms for the poor and attending to the hospital's sick. Notwithstanding his fame as a powerful thaumaturge and the fact that, according to his confessor of fifteen-years, he had never committed mortal sins and only infrequently had to be absolved of lesser, venial sins, Anthony denigrated himself, pronouncing that he was "Christ's poor slave and a

¹⁵ Fiume, "Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouro," 60; Alessandro Dell'Aira, "Il santo nero e il rosario: devozione e rappresentazione", in Giovanni Fiume, org., *Il santo patrono e la città. San Benedetto il Moro: culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna* (Veneza: Marsilio, 2000), 164-79.

¹⁶ According to the thirty-eight witnesses included in Saint Anthony's apostolic process, begun just months after his death, the African friar performed nineteen intercessory miracles, both during his life as well as after his death. Fiume, "Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouro," 63.

¹⁷ "[...]temieron tener por esclavo al que tenia Dios por amigo: y assí le dieron carta de horro, y licencia para yise libremente donde quisiesse." Daça, *Quarta parte de la chronica general*, 160.

¹⁸ Fiume, "Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouro," 65.

miserable sinner.”¹⁹ On his deathbed he also refused a local priest’s offer to bury him inside the Convent’s chapel, declaring that since he was “the most indigent slave in the world” he instead to be interred in the Convent of Santa Maria de Jesus—situated outside the city walls of Palermo—where he had first professed.²⁰

When he died on March 14, 1550, however, the convent’s bells tolled miraculously—without human intervention—calling for the city’s inhabitants, many of whom had received favors from Anthony during his lifetime, to attend his lavish burial in the friar’s cemetery in Noto.²¹ Fifteen-years later, in 1565, when the Franciscan friars in Noto determined to move his casket to the privileged interior of the sacristy, they were astounded to discover Anthony’s corpse incorrupt and exuding the “celestial odor” of sanctity.²² Recognizing his bodily preservation as a miracle, local ecclesiastical authorities gave permission for the black friar to be represented, in images and prints,

¹⁹ “[...] um pobre escravo de Cristo e mísero picador.” *Magister Antonino, De vita, morte et miraculis*, c. 19. Quoted in Portuguese translation in Fiume, “Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouró,” 64. Moreover, Saint Anthony referred to the deceased noblemen Conrado de Cortisi, who had served as his spiritual guide and even prompted him to embark on his penitential lifestyle by providing him with a tunic and a cilice with silver rings, by recommending that the sick man “Tenha fê em Deus e venha a São Conrado que ele o escutará” (“Have faith that Saint Conrado will come and God will listen to him”). *Ibid.*

²⁰ Daça, *Quarta parte de la chronica general*, 1:165.

²¹ This information is taken from Vincenzo Litterata’s 1593 Latin manuscript on the history and topography of Noto translated in Italian by Francesco Balsamo, *Storia di Noto antica della origini al 1593* (Roma: Ciranna, 1969), 120. Cited in Fiume, “Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouró,” 66.

²² Daça, *Quarta parte de la chronica general*, 168. Saint Anthony’s venerated corpse—contained in an elaborate wooden sarcophagus whose glass cover was protected by iron grates to prevent the robbery of his relics—was installed in the sacristy of the convent. Following the 1693 earthquake, Saint Anthony’s bones were transferred to the newly-constructed convent of Santa Maria de Jesus de Noto. Salvatore Guastella, *Fratello negro: Antonio di Noto detto l'Etiope* (Noto: Edizione La Caritas diocesana, 1991), 75. Cited in *Ibid.*

with celestial aureole or crown reserved for saints.²³ In 1599, the Sicilian bishop Giovanni Castellano Orosco (1579-1602) canonized the bones of the “Blessed” Anthony.²⁴

When Anthony died in Noto, the Afro-Sicilian Benedict was only around twenty-five years old and had just begun his religious vocation under the guidance of the hermit Friar Jeronymo Lança (Girolamo Lanza). Like his African predecessor, Saint Benedict’s life, posthumous devotion, and eventual canonization, were intimately shaped by African slavery.²⁵ Born in San Fratello in 1524 and the son of African Christian slaves, Saint Benedict was commonly referred to by his contemporaries as a “black Ethiopian Saint” and most commonly as “Saint Benedict, the Moor.”²⁶ These religious and racial classifications used to invoke a generic African ancestry were linked to sixteenth-century global developments including Iberian explorations, imperial conquests, and the rise of

²³ Fiume, “Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouro,” 67.

²⁴ Salvatore Guastella, *Lui e noi per loro. Fonti di archivio e documenti sul B. Antonio di Noto*, (Noto: Ed. Caritas, 2000), 178. Cited in Fiume, “Antônio Etíope e Benedito, o Mouro,” 66.

²⁵ It is important to note that Pope Clemente VIII’s 1599 papal concession of authority over the Kingdom of Naples to the Spanish King Felipe II reinstated his predecessor’s 1524 papal bull to Emperor Carlos V. *Archivo General de Simancas* (hereafter AGS), Nápoles y Sicilia, Patronato, Leg. 24, Doc. 34 “Bula de Clemente VIII concediendo a Felipe II la investidura del Reino de Nápoles.” 9-9-1599; and AGS, Nápoles y Sicilia, Patronato, Leg. 41, Doc. 37 “Breve de Clemente VII a favor del Emperador Carlos V para que pudiesse poseer el Reino de Nápoles juntamente con el imperio.” 11-15-1524.

²⁶ For instance, in the first Sicilian hagiography devoted to Saint Benedict published in 1652, he is referred to as “Benedict of San Fratello, commonly called the Black.” Pietro Tognoleto e Ficano, *Vita e miracoli del venerable servo di Dio Beato frate Benedetto da San Fratello, detto comunemente il Nero* (Palermo, 1652). Moreover, in a 1702 Spanish hagiography, he is called “Negrito” (little black), “bendito Negro” (blessed Black), the “admirable Negro” (admirable Black), and most commonly, the “Santo Negro” (Black Saint). Pietro Mataplana, *Vida de fray Benito de S. Fradelo, religioso recoleto de la Orden de S. Francisco, comúnmente nombrado el Santo Negro de Palermo*, (Madrid, 1702).

trans-Atlantic slavery.²⁷ Similarly, even though the origins of Benedict's parents are unknown—they may have been captured as slaves from Central Africa and shipped across trans-Saharan trade routes to be sold in markets along the Barbary Coast of North Africa, and eventually, purchased in Sicily by European merchants—they were generically labeled as “black Ethiopians.”²⁸

While scholars debate whether he was born into slavery or freedom, his first Sicilian hagiographers consistently referred to him as a “Santu Scavuzzu” or the “Slave Saint.”²⁹ Though he was manumitted, the adolescent Benedict remained in the service of his enslaved father's wealthy master, Cristoforo Manasseri, pasturing livestock in the fields outside the city of San Fratello and eventually purchasing two cows. In 1544, when he was around twenty years of age, Saint Benedict began his religious vocation and, though uneducated and illiterate, he later professed as a lay friar in the order of St.

²⁷ “Ethiopian” and “African” were classifying terms most commonly used, beginning in the sixteenth-century, to establish symbolic equivalences between somatic appearance—specifically dark-skin color—and slavery in terms of both legal status and cultural condition. For an examination of the concomitant political and religious discourse of black African slavery relevant to the lived experiences of our sixteenth-century African and Afro-Sicilian saints, see: Nelson Minnich, “Pastoral care of black Africans in Italy,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 283.

²⁸ The historiography on the Mediterranean slave trade has focused extensively on the urban centers of Genoa and Venice, which, since the second half of the thirteenth century traded in white slaves from the Levant including Tartars, Circassians, Russians, Slavs, Saracens, Greeks, Rumanians, Albanians, and Armenians. During the mid-fifteenth century, under the patronage of Prince Henry “The Navigator”, the Portuguese began shipping Moors, Berbers, and black Africans into the port cities of the Algarve and Lisbon. See: Sergio Tognetti, “The trade in black African slaves in fifteenth-century Florence,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 214-217.

²⁹ He may have been born into slavery, perhaps manumitted at the baptismal font by his master as a means of rewarding his Christian slaves for their years of faithful service. The juridical status of Saint Benedict's three younger siblings is also unknown. Giovanni Fiume, “Saint Benedict the Moor: From Sicily to the New World,” in Margaret Cormack, ed., *Saints and their Cults in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 17-19.

Francis of Assisi. By 1562, Saint Benedict lived in the Convent of Santa Maria di Gesù in Palermo, where he first served as a cook and later, as Guardian, until his death in 1589.³⁰ During his residence in the Franciscan Convent in Palermo, Saint Benedict also daily interacted with black slaves from the Franciscan convent who, during the early as the 1570s, had already established their own black confraternity under the invocation of Santa Maria di Gesù dei negri (Saint Mary of Jesus of the Blacks).³¹

Just five years after his death, in 1594 the Archbishop of Palermo granted a local Sicilian merchant permission to compile a dossier on the life and miracles of the black friar from Palermo.³² Recognizing his growing popularity, in 1600 Inquisitors in Sicily granted permission for images of Benedict to be painted “with rays of splendor, and a diadem on his head,” thus visually elevating him to the realm of the saints.³³ In addition to circulating his images, the Franciscan friars in Palermo facilitated Saint Benedict’s trans-Atlantic journeys sending his relics to their Order in Madrid in 1606.³⁴ Two years later, King Felipe II ordered Saint Benedict’s body be enshrined in a silver casket and displayed within the church’s central nave to recognize his strategic role in “the

³⁰ Alessandro Dell’Aira, “St. Benedict of San Fratello,” 285.

³¹ Antonio Mongitore, *Storia sacra delle chiese di Palermo*, III: *Chiese di unioni, confraterniti, e congregazioni di Palermo*, Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo, MS QqE9, pages 62-65 or fols. 45v-47r, esp. 64/462-65/47r. Cited in Minnich, “Pastoral care of black Africans in Italy,” 296.

³² Giovanni Fiume, *Il santo moro, I processi de canonizzazione di Benedetto da Palermo (1594-1807)*, (Milan: 2002), 38-49.

³³ Conceicao, *Flor peregrina por preta*, 254.

³⁴ Bernard Vincent, “San Benedito de Palermo en España.” *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 38, no. 1 (2016): 24-27.

conversion of the black peoples of the Indies.”³⁵ Palermo’s civic authorities further sanctioned Saint Benedict’s unofficial cult when, notwithstanding Pope Urban VIII’s 1630 decree against worshipping saints not yet canonized, they elected him as their city’s co-patron saint in 1652.³⁶



Figure 4: Anonymous, “Saint Benedict of Palermo with lilies and angels.” Early XVII century. Oil on Canvas, 76 cm x 65 cm. Convento Santa Maria del Gesù, Palermo (Italy).³⁷

³⁵ Fiume, “Saint Benedict the Moor: From Sicily to the New World,” 29.

³⁶ Dell’Aira, “St. Benedict of San Fratello,” 286.

³⁷ *The Image of the Black in Western Art Research Project and Photo Archive*, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research, Harvard University, ID Number 3992.

An early seventeenth-century painting prominently displayed above Saint Benedict's tomb in Palermo testifies to the way in which artists mobilized visual symbols to reinforce his growing reputation as a powerful intercessor whose miracle-working effigies were embraced by multi-ethnic populations in Sicily and across the Iberian Atlantic world (Figure 4).³⁸ Likely commissioned by the Franciscan friars in Palermo and locally produced in Sicily, the anonymous painting represents Saint Benedict as a Franciscan friar wearing a cinctured brown habit and in a moment of mental prayer. His hands, dangling a rosary, are crossed around his chest and he tilts his head upwards, as if communing with the divine. From the upper left-hand corner of the picture's frame, a heavenly sunburst radiates to bathe the friar's uncovered head in a yellow-ochre light, spilling outwards beyond his body into what appears to be an open courtyard (perhaps located outside his cell in the Convent). The heads of three disembodied white cherubim reinforce the transcendent moment in which the friar experiences spiritual ecstasy. In the painting's foreground, an angel-boy dangles the blood-stained cilice of Saint Benedict's penitential flagellation and offers the friar a bouquet of white lilies. As such, the painting visualizes a divine exchange in which the dark fleshiness of the friar's cilice is substituted by the fragrant softness of lilies—symbols of purity and chastity. The iconographic

³⁸ In 1609, a Lisbon confraternity devoted to Saint Benedict functioned in the Church of the Monastery of Santa Anna. Fiume, "Saint Benedict the Moor: From Sicily to the New World," 29.

symbolism is clear: Saint Benedict's violent bodily mortification, asceticism, and fasting have earned him the celestial prize of brilliant glory.

By depicting Saint Benedict's spiritual ecstasy as the result of a sensuous exchange between earthly pain (dark cilice) and celestial pleasure (white lilies), the anonymous Sicilian artist parallels seventeenth-century hagiographers' deployment of chromatic religious symbolism (dark sin/ white purity) as well as metaphysical language (body/soul) to describe Saint Benedict.³⁹ For example, in 1611 the Franciscan chronicler Daça s the claimed that "in spite of his blackness" Saint Benedict "was whitest of all the spiritual white men of that era."⁴⁰ By highlighting the distinction between Saint Benedict's external blackness (body) and his internal whiteness (purity), Daca expressed widespread religious discourse on color difference used to justify slavery echoed in the early seventeenth-century sermons of the famous orator Jesuit Antônio Vieira (1608-1697).

In a 1633 sermon preached, before a mixed audience of black slaves and their masters, in the chapel of a black Brotherhood of the Virgin of the Rosary on a sugarcane plantation in Bahia, the famous Jesuit orator inscribed Brazil's sugar-cane economy

³⁹ For a discussion of the way in which Europeans described black sanctity as a divine alchemy birthing whiteness, see: Erin Kathleen Rowe, "After Death, Her Face Turned White: Blackness, Whiteness, and Sanctity in the Early Modern Hispanic World," *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 3 (2016):727–754.

⁴⁰ "[...] aunque negro, fue el blanco de todos los varones espirituales de aquel tiempo." Daça, *Quarta parte de la cronica general*, 66-68. Quoted with a slightly different English translation in Fiume, "Saint Benedict the Moor," 63.

dependent upon African slavery within a universal process of Christian salvation.⁴¹ Borrowing from Saint Augustine's interpretation of the word *Coré* ("Korah") as synonymous with "Calvary," the Portuguese priest claimed that black slaves were God's image-bearers who, because of their suffering under slavery, were heirs to an eternal salvation "born between the pains of the cross."⁴² As such, Brazilian slaves were privileged models of redemptive suffering who, by patiently served their masters on earth, mirrored Christ's crucifixion and passion. They too, the Jesuit priest argued, were persecuted with "the iron, the prison, the whips, the sores, the disparaging names" and

⁴¹ Antonio Vieira, "Sermão XIV do Rosário, pregada na Baía à irmandade dos pretos de um engenho em dia de S. João Evanelista, no Ano de 1633," in *Sermões*, ed. Rev. Padre Gonçalo Alves, vol. XI (Porto, 1959), 281-317. All following citations are taken from this edition.

⁴² Vieira's sermon positions the black devotees of Our Lady of the Rosary as her third sons, following Jesus Christ and Saint John the Baptist (who, he argues, became the son of the Virgin Mary at the time of the Crucifixion). Though the primacy of slaves' devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary has been explored in depth by a number of scholars, it is worth noting that Vieira himself of African and European ancestry, was deeply devoted to the Virgin of the Rosary as evidenced by his dedication of two volumes of sermons, see: *Maria Rosa Mística: Excellencias, poderes, e maravilhas do seu Rosario, compendiadas em trinta sermoens asceticos e Panegyricos sobre os dous Evangelhos desta solemnidade Novo & Antigo: oferecidas a soberana magestade da mesma Senhora Pelo P. Antonio Vieira da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia do Brasil, em comprimento de hurn voto feito, & repellido em grandes perigos da vida, de que por sua imensa benignidade, e Poderosissima intercessão sempre sahio livre. I Parte.* (Lisbon: Oficina de Miguel Deslandes, 1686). This volume of Vieira's sermons first was quickly translated into Spanish and published as *Maria, rosa mystica: excelencias, poder y maravillas de su santissimo rosario, compendiadas en treinta sermones, asceticos, y panegyricos, sobre los dos evangelios de esta solemnidad, nuevo, y antiguo,* (Zaragoca : Domingo Gascon, 1689). Vieira not only credited the Virgin of the Rosary with saving his life from "great dangers" but also believed it was she who gave him the gift of oratory. See Thomas C. Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues: António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). 3. During his time in Brazil, Vieira preached three sermons to black brotherhoods dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary in Bahia. Besides the 1633 sermon already discussed, sometime in the mid-17th century he delivered a second sermon dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary, and a third between 1686 and 1692, during the last years of his life. For a comparative analysis of Vieira's three sermons in relation to imperial politics in Brazil see: Joan Meznar, "Our Lady of the Rosary, African Slaves, and the Struggle Against Heretics in Brazil, 1550-1660," *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 9 Nos. 3-4 (2005): 371-396.

they also suffered the weight of the cross of the *engenho* (sugar-mill) which “expels the juice of fruit” just as Christ “squeezed out the sacred blood of humanity” when he died in Jerusalem.⁴³

Further inscribing the slave-based economy of Brazilian sugar production within a universal Christian framework, Vieira exhorted slaves to further their passage towards salvation by offering up their pain to the Virgin of the Rosary—the patroness of slaves—and to daily pray the Rosary so that “the hardness of their slavery is sweetened” and “the vileness of their labors ennobled.”⁴⁴ Similarly, Vieira also argued that African slaves had, through their temporary captivity, been brought into the bosom of the Church such that their painful transmigration formed part of an earthly process of sanctification. By patiently serving their earthly masters, the Jesuit priest asserted, slaves would ultimately receive an eternal letter of manumission—the freedom of their souls. However, at the same time as Vieira promoted the Virgin of the Rosary—the patroness of slaves—as a spiritual and social tool to maintain Brazilian slavery, Africans and Afro-descended peoples in the recently-established Portuguese city of Luanda—the largest Atlantic slave-

⁴³ Translated from the original Portuguese which reads: “Em um engenho sois imitadores de Cristo crucificado....A sua cruz foi composta de dois madeiros, e a vossa em um engenho é de três... Os ferros, as prisões, os açoites, as chagas, os nomes afrontosos, de tudo isto se compõe a vossa imitação, que, se for acompanhada de paciência, também terá merecimento de martírio....Em todas as invenções e instrumentos de trabalho parece que não achou o Senhor outro que mais parecido fosse com o seu que o vosso. A propriedade e energia desta comparação é porque no instrumento da cruz, e na oficina de toda a Paixão, assim como nas outras em que se espreme o sumo dos frutos, assim foi espremido todo o sangue da humanidade sagrada.”

⁴⁴ “[...]se vós, porém, vos souberdes aproveitar dela, e conformá-la com o exemplo e paciência de Cristo, eu vos prometo primeiramente que esses mesmos trabalhos vos sejam muito doces, como foram ao mesmo Senhor.”

port in West Central Africa— performed their privileged position within colonial society by establishing their own Catholic institutions.⁴⁵

In 1628, free blacks from Luanda constructed the Church of the Rosary which was administered by their own free black priest Reverend Padre Diogo Rodriguez da Silva. The Church of the Rosary's religious significance is also testified by the fact that the Governor of Luanda Fernão de Souza (1624-1630), described it as a black parish" where locals were ministered to by a black chaplain "in their native language."⁴⁶ The Church's liturgical services were also attended to by Portuguese merchants, African slaves, and mixed-race *pardos* in addition to its free black administrators. Moreover, these multi-ethnic populations also celebrated the Virgin's annual feast day in October, which included a sung mass, sermon, and joyful street parade where musical troupes and masqueraded dancers accompanied processional floats bearing the images of the Virgin of the Rosary, Saint Dominic, Saint Francis, Saint Benedict of Nursia, and the black Saint Benedict of Palermo.⁴⁷ How might free and enslaved lay populations' adoption of the Catholic saints diverge from their strategic promotion by Portuguese colonizers?

After living in Angola for almost forty-years, in 1680 the Portuguese soldier António de Cadornega (1623-1690) published his lengthy three-volume chronicle

⁴⁵ Luiz Felipe Alencastro, *O Trato Dos Videntes: Formação Do Brasil No Atlântico Sul, Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 288.

⁴⁶ "A Igreja desta invocação era uma espécie de paróquia dos pretos; o capelão era obrigado a confessá-los e acompanhá-los à sepultura e a fazer a catequese na língua indígena." *Relatórios do governador Fernão de Sousa*, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Códice 51-VIII-31, fls. 19-29, vol. II. Cited in *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁷ Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*, 26-28.

História Geral das Guerras Angolanas (General History of the Angolan Wars). Besides narrating the political history of the war-ravaged region, Cadornega also sheds light on the cultural development of African Christianity across Portuguese Atlantic world. Praising the spread of religious institutions in seventeenth-century Portuguese Luanda, Cadornega suggests how Central Africans' embrace of the Catholic saints expressed traditional understandings of kinship and ancestry. For example, in a passage describing the Church of the Rosary, constructed by Luanda's free black populations in 1628, he writes:

And so that the blacks do not complain that they have been overlooked by silence, they have their own most beautiful and well finished church, under the invocation of Our Lady of the Rosary, very well adorned in with a façade, pulpit, choir, [and] sacristy. Everything wrought with perfection (...) and besides the sculpture of Our Lady of the Rosary, they have others in collateral altars, such as those of Saint Bento, [and] Saint Domingos; and on the left-hand side [of the main altar] the Saint of the religion of the minors of the Patriarch Saint Francis, Saint Benedict of Palermo, the head of the Kingdom of Sicily, where he flourished in virtue and sanctity and who, even though black in colors, was very white in works: and there is no lack of authors who state that he was a native of Ethiopia proper, and that his mother, who had been enslaved as a child, was a native of this kingdom of Angola, from the province of Quissama.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ “E porque se não queixem os pretos que se passa por eles em silêncio, têm sua igreja particular muito linda e bem acabada, da invocação da Senhora do Rosário, mui bem ornada com bons frontais, púlpito, coro, sacristia. Tudo feito com perfeição (...) tendo além da imagem da Sr. ^a do Rosário de vulto, outras, como são a de São Bento, São Domingos, nos altares colaterais; e no da mão esquerda o Santo que, ainda que preto nas cores, foi mui branco nas obras, da religião dos menores do Patriarca São Francisco, São Benedito de Palermo, cabeça do Reino da Sicília, onde floresceu em virtude e santidade: e não faltam autores que digam que foi natural da adusta Etiópia, que fora sua mãe natural desse reino de Angola, da província de Quissama e que o cativaram pequeno.” Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*, 26-27.

Even though the Portuguese chronicler, like the Spanish hagiographer Daça, discursively coded Saint Benedict using symbolic black-white binaries “a Black saint in colors, and very white in sanctity and works,” he also offers an alternative vision of black sanctity by referring to his mythical kinship ties to Angola. Rather than linked to the saint’s somatic appearance, Cadornega thus implies that the popularity of Saint Benedict among Central Africans was directly related to his purported lineage and descent. In other words, free and enslaved Angolans populations conceptualized Saint Benedict through kinship affiliations, claiming him as a powerful ancestor who mediated between their world and the next, across time and space. Though his enslaved mother had been shipped across the Mediterranean and brought to Sicily, the bounds of family that linked Saint Benedict to an ancestral homeland in Angola had not been ruptured, surviving both oceanic divides and the tragedies of slavery.⁴⁹ Cadornega thus implies how culturally, geographically, and demographically-distinct populations connected the black saints’ power to their own multiple, divergent, and often fluid and contested ideas about color difference and similitude. African and Afro-descended populations across the Atlantic in Portuguese Brazil, as we will see, also filtered black sanctity through a visual lens of Christian ancestry and intercessory power.

Venerating the Black Saints in Seventeenth-Century Salvador de Bahia

⁴⁹ For an excellent overview of the spread of devotion to Saint Benedict in relation to this Angolan legend, see: Lucilene Reginaldo, “Rosários dos pretos, São Benedito de Quissama: irmandades e devoções negras no mundo atlântico (Portugal e Angola, século XVIII),” *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 38 (2016): 123-151.

Prior to establishing Catholic brotherhoods, seventeenth-century Afro-descended populations venerated altar-images of Saint Benedict predominately located in Franciscan convents. Constructed in 1670, the Franciscan Convent of São Boaventura de Macacu, in the *sertão* [hinterlands] northeast of Rio de Janeiro, housed a gilded altar-image Saint Benedict around which a prestigious black brotherhood later formed.⁵⁰ In the Franciscan Convent of Vitória located in nearby Espírito Santo, slaves, ex-slaves, and *pardos* who venerated a miracle-working image of Saint Benedict established their own brotherhood in 1686.⁵¹ Portuguese colonial elites also formed part of the black brotherhood of Saint Benedict in Espírito Santo, participating in annual feast day processions held in honor of their “blessed black” patron saint.⁵² According to Frei Conceição, these “most distinguished members” of the black Brotherhood also vied for prestigious, administrative positions such as the elected offices of *juiz* and *majordomo* charged with overseeing the brotherhood’s annual feast day procession.⁵³ Besides serving as an opportunity for local elites to assert control over populations of color, the inclusion of white populations within the administration of black brotherhoods evidences the

⁵⁰ Basílio Röwer, *Páginas de História Franciscana no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 1957), 132.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 30-34; Adwalter Antônio Carnielli, *História da Igreja Católica no estado do Espírito Santo: 1535-2000* (Vila Velha: Comunicação Imprensa, 2005), 188.

⁵² “[...] todos os anos gratificam as mercês que continuamente recebem da mão de Deus pela intercessão deste bendito preto, com grandiosa festa, sendo dela os juizes e mordomos as pessoas de mais e maior distinção desta terra.” Frei Apólinario da Conceição, “Epítome da Província Franciscana da Imaculada Conceição no Brasil [1730].” Reprinted by the *Revista del Instituto Geográfico e Histórico do Brasil*, vol. 296 (1972): 109-110.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 110.

widespread popularity of the black Saint Benedict across the color-based hierarchies of colonial Brazilian society.⁵⁴

Saint Benedict was also venerated by multi-ethnic population in the urban port-city of Salvador de Bahia. The city's formidable Franciscan Church of the Convent of San Francisco, constructed around 1587, included beside its altar devoted to the Portuguese Saint Anthony of Padua a miracle-working effigy of Saint Benedict later venerated by a black confraternity. Though the Franciscan chronicler Frei Jabotão explained he could not to “determine with certainty if the [aforementioned image of Saint Benedict] was already venerated by a public confraternity, or only by private vows,” he acknowledged its popular embrace as thaumaturgic-image by recounting an early seventeenth-century miracle. In 1623, Luiz Pereira Ferreira, a Portuguese merchant who sold imported luxury fabrics in the Bahian interior, asserted that an image of Saint Benedict from the Franciscan Convent in Salvador de Bahia had miraculously healed him of intestinal worms.⁵⁵ In fact, Ferreira acknowledged that while he served as a

⁵⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century, the Brotherhood of Saint Benedict in the Franciscan Convent in Porto had been coupled with that of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and restricted the administrative posts of judge, treasurer, scribe, and mordomo to “*homens dos principais da cidade (...) todos brancos e abonados.*” IAN/ANTT, Província de Portugal, São Francisco de Porto. Livro 3, Adição e reforma feita aos capítulos do Compromisso, ou Estatutos da Irmandade de N. S. do Rosário e São Benedito no Convento de São Francisco da cidade do Porto (...) feita neste presente ano de 1781. Cited in Lucilene Reginaldo, “Os Rosários dos Angolas. Irmandades Negras, experiências escravas e identidades negras na Bahia setecentista,” 78.

⁵⁵ Frei Antonio Santa Maria Jabotão, *Nove Orbe Seráfico Brasilico ou Crônica dos Frades Menores da província do Brasil*, [1761], 91-95. The black Brotherhood of Saint Benedict in the Franciscan Convent in Salvador likely emerged spontaneously long before their 1730 compromisso was officially approved.

majordomo of Saint Benedict's brotherhood in Porto—his hometown—in addition to organizing the annual festival in honor of the saint, he had also brought the confraternity's image to console and to cure sick individuals.⁵⁶

The fact that both African-descended and European populations worshipped images of Saint Benedict housed in churches, chapels, and convents throughout the Portuguese Atlantic World testifies to the universal power of his devotional cult to bridge and to mark racial and cultural divides. However, whereas the Portuguese merchant Ferreira channeled his devotional pact with Saint Benedict established in Porto to consolidate his position within broader religious and social networks in Salvador de Bahia, free and enslaved populations of African descent invoked the visual power of black sanctity to express their privileged Christian kinship.

Beginning in the 1680s, African and Afro-descended peoples in Brazil actively petitioned the Crown for royal licenses to establish Catholic brotherhoods organized around iconic devotion to patron saints, particularly the Virgin of the Rosary. The official sanctioning of these Catholic lay sodalities was a protracted trans-Atlantic process

Lucilene Reginaldo, "Irmandades e devoções de africanos e crioulos na Bahia setecentista: histórias e experiências atlânticas," *Stockholm Review of Latin American Studies*, no. 4 (2009): 29.

⁵⁶ For example, by the early seventeenth century, the Church of the Franciscan Convent in Porto housed a Confraternity of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and São Benedito. Ana Maria Rodriguez, *Os Negros em Portugal, Sécs. XV-XIX*, (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Commemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1999), 140-141. See also Inês Alfonso Lopes, "A memoria das imagens: Os santos negros da Igreja de Santa Clara do Porto" *Revsita da Faculdade de Letras. Ciências e Técnicas do Património*, Porto, vol. IX-XI, (2010-2012), 213-214.

involving both royal and ecclesiastical authorities in Brazil and administrative officials in Lisbon, who reviewed petitions on behalf of the Portuguese Crown. As such, long prior to the Crown's official sanction of their institutional bylaws or *compromissos*, urban black brotherhoods in Brazil functioned informally, organizing their members' devotion to specific images of their patron saint, including the black Saint Benedict.⁵⁷ In 1684, however, urban populations of African descent formalized their devotion to Saint Benedict's an altar-image in the parish Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia by drawing up their institutional *compromisso*. In the first chapter of their bylaws, the Brotherhood's administrators invoked the "glorious Saint Benedict" under whose patronage and protection they promised to "grow steadily," enriching the souls of their members "with the approval of all."⁵⁸ Given the illiteracy of the brotherhood's members, each of the 13 chapters of their bylaws were to be read aloud to each newly elected official on the saint's annual feast day. As we will see, they also commemorated their patron Saint Benedict in a watercolor frontispiece—thus visually introducing their

⁵⁷ As these Catholic lay sodalities formed around the veneration of specific altar-images of their patron saints, iconic devotion serves to estimate their informal beginnings. Frei Agostino de Santa Maria, *Santuário Mariano e História das imagens milagrosas de Nossa Senhora milagrosamente manifestadas e aparecidas em o Arcebispado da Bahia* [1722]. *Separata da Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia* (Bahia: Imprensa Oficial, 1949), 86, 89, 113.

⁵⁸ Emphasis my own. "A proteccão e invocação debaixo da qual esta Santa Irmandade confia crescer, e sempre hir adiante com grande gozo, e riqueza de suas Almas, e beneplacito de todos he de gloriozo S. Benedito cuja festa se fará com grande solemnidade no dia que adiante se declara, e ordenamos que quando se fizer a entrega aos novos officiaese se lhe leão os capitulos destes Compromisso para o guardarem assim e da maneira que nelles se contem." *Arquivo Público de Estado da Bahia* (hereafter APEB). Seção Colonial e Provincial. Dossiê sobre Irmandades, conventos, igrejas e pessoal eclesiástico. Maço 614-2. "Compromisso da Irmandade de São Benedito da Matriz de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia", not numerated.

devotion before textually inscribing it within the chapters of their *compromisso* (Figure 5).

The anonymous watercolor pictured below was likely the work of a scribe-artist who had been commissioned to transcribe and organize the brotherhood's *compromisso* in following with prescribed formulas. Since calligraphers were also trained in painting ornamental designs, the commissioned scribe likely deployed his own creative artistry to paint the frontispiece image.⁵⁹ It is also possible, however, that one of the brotherhood's black members was an artist who liberally exercised his craft to materialize—through his own visual representation—the Brotherhood's collective devotion to their glorious black patron saint. Despite lacking sources that might clarify these speculations, this illustration is historically significant. Not only is it one of the first representations of Saint Benedict produced in Brazil, but it is also linked to one of the first black brotherhoods to be established in the Portuguese colony.

⁵⁹ The intersections between calligraphy and ornamental designs in brotherhood manuscripts from eighteenth-century Bahia see: Antônio Wilson Silva de Sousa, "Relação entre manuais de caligrafia e a ornamentação de documentos da Bahia do século XVIII," in Natália Marinho Ferreira-Alves, org., *Artistas e Artífices e a Sua Mobilidade no Mundo de Expressão Portuguesa: Actas: VII Colóquio Luso-Brasileiro de História da Arte* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2007), 101-108. For a comprehensive of the linked development of eighteenth-century painting and calligraphy throughout the Portuguese Empire see: Márcia Almada, *Das artes da pena e do pincel: caligrafia e pintura em manuscritos no século XVIII* (Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço), 2011.



Figure 5: The 1684 *Compromisso* frontispiece depicting Saint Benedict. APEB. Maço 614-2.

The frontispiece depicts the black friar wearing the cinctured habit of a Franciscan friar and clutching a rag in one hand and a cloth in the other—symbols referring to two miracles he performed during his lifetime. According to hagiographic tradition, on one occasion, while the Viceroy was visiting the Convent of Palermo and asked what the Afro-Sicilian friar was carrying in his habit, Saint Benedict transformed trash into flowers. In another instance, after Franciscan friars ridiculed him for salvaging crumbs and bits of meat from their plates, Saint Benedict declared that the blood of the poor was present in discarded leftovers and his dish-rag began to drip streams of blood. The friar’s unshod feet are poised upon a barren ground sparsely populated by tangled, twisted vines thus harkening back to the saint’s early biography as an wandering ascetic healer before joining up with the Franciscans in obeisance to Tridentine decree that hermits enter monastic orders.⁶⁰ Though tonsured and bare, the friar’s head is ringed by an earth-toned aureole, not the traditional silver or gold *resplendor* (aureole) that commonly decorated the statues of the Saint. As such, it is likely that the artist elected to depict the *living* saint who performed charitable miracles both inside and outside his convent in Palermo rather than model his painting after Saint Benedict’s altar-image within the church.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Dell’Aira, “Saint Benedict of San Fratello,” 285.

⁶¹ Brazilian historian Caio Boschi argues that black brotherhoods might have elected their patron saints according to African conceptions of saints as “agruras” or ancestral kin who could empathize with the suffering of their living kinship communities. See the author’s monograph, *Os leigos e o poder: Irmandades leigas e a política colonizadora em Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1986), 26.

While mostly intact, termites have eaten away at the manuscript paper, thus rendering invisible the saint's torso. Notwithstanding its contemporary absence, the historical image would most likely have also included a flaming heart as was common in this specific iconographic type known as the "Saint Benedict of the Rosary." In Brazil, seventeenth-century sculptures that included Saint Benedict's flowers and rag—symbols associated with his charitable miracles—were often paired with a flaming heart inscribed with the "INS" christogram to invoke the friar's devotion to the Christ Child.⁶²

The central composition representing Saint Benedict as an anchorite is framed by an ornamental medallion consisting of red, blue and gold scallops and the words *S. Benedict* are written in bold, red ink as if crowning the friar's head. Two cherubs, located on either side of the saint's lower torso, form part of the swirling medallion, their robust bodies symmetrically balancing the central composition and sustaining its architectural frame. The cherubs' white faces are tilted up and their internally-oriented eyes lead the outside viewer to focus on the centrally-depicted Saint. This directed ocular movement is further underscored by the cherub's outstretched hands and index fingers that point towards the interior image of Saint Benedict, thus metonymically exemplifying how the viewer should gaze upon devotional images of the black saint.

⁶² For a suggestive article on why this particular iconographic motif of Saint Benedict, though rare in Portugal, was popularized among populations of African-descent in seventeenth-century Brazil see: Helmut Renders, "O coração como atributo hagiográfico de São Benedito do Rosário: hipótese sobre a sua origem e seu modelo subjacente da vida crista," *Horizonte Dossiê: Religiões Afro-brasileiras* 11, no. 29 (2013): 109-132.

Just beneath the red tile identifying the frontispiece image as the brotherhood's patron saint, *S. Benedicto*, the artist-scribe has scribbled in gold ink the abbreviated title, *São G* or "Glorious Saint" (Figure 19a). The fact that the words are dwarfed in size and spatial location suggests that they were likely inserted *post factum*, perhaps following a recommendation of the brotherhood's founders.⁶³

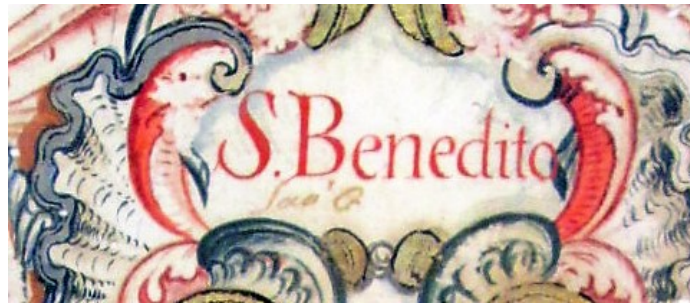


Figure 5a: Detail from the 1684 *Compromisso* showing the textual addition *São G*. APEB. Maço 614-2.

The words' textual presence, though seemingly inconspicuous, belies a remarkable history. Long before the Church sanctioned popular devotion to Saint Benedict—through his 1743 beatification—black brotherhoods in urban Salvador de Bahia not only visualized his earthly protection but also proclaimed his celestial status as a "Glorious Saint" worthy of universal devotion. In reconfiguring their saint's black sanctity as both celestial glory *and* earthly authority, the black administrators thus subversively engaged with the color hierarchies of Brazilian slavery.

⁶³ It is also possible that these words were added to the 1684 *compromisso* in 1721 when the black administrators petitioned to reform their original statutes. Interestingly, the brotherhood's eighteenth-century petition, which is signed by nearly thirty administrative officers, does not include any specific reference to which chapters they wanted to amend.

Significantly, whereas the 1684 frontispiece textually identifies the brotherhood's black patron, in three-dimensional sculptures sanctity was less easily defined. For example, processional sculptures made of wood called *imagem de roca* sported articulated limbs that could be moved to hold the saint's symbols such as a rosary, cross, palms, book, or Christ Child.⁶⁴ Since these figural attributes were often associated with more than one saint, a lavish gold cross might be used to outfit several saints' images depending on which saint was being celebrated during that month's procession. These types of sculptures were especially important within lay confraternities and Third Orders in Brazil as they made visible the power and prestige of the patron saint within public ritual processions.⁶⁵

Among its impressive collection of early colonial art from Brazil, the *Museu de Arte Sacra* in São Paulo includes an undressed seventeenth-century *imagem de roca* of with an attached silver aureole and without any attributes (Figure 6). Given its formal minimalism, blackness as a signifier becomes especially important in this Brazilian processional statue whose silver aureole testifies to the material investment in representing the black saint's holiness. Though this seventeenth-century processional image is said to represent Saint Benedict, it is possible that also be used to stand-in for

⁶⁴ The eighteenth-century philologist Antonio Vieyra (1712-1797) defines *imagens de roca* as "a sort of statue made of small boards, disposed in the form of a pyramid, whose vertex is at the lower end of the waist." Dictionary Entry for "Rócha" in Antonio Vieyra, and J Dias do Canto, *A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English languages*, n.p.

⁶⁵ Selma Soares de Oliveira, *Imagens de Roca: uma coleção singular da Ordem Terceira do Carmo de Cachoeira* (Feira de Santana, BA : UEFS Editora, 2014), 140.

the black Saint Anthony during public festivities.⁶⁶ These three-dimensional sculptures thus exemplify how black sanctity could be visually reconfigured to fit specific religious and political contexts.



Figure 6: Anonymous “*Imagem de roca*” of Saint Benedict. 17th century. Polychrome clay, wood, and silver aureole. Igreja de Araçariguama, São Paulo, Brasil.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ For example, the Ash-Wednesday procession of 1867 organized by the Third Order of the Franciscans in Espírito Santo included an image of the black saint Anthony (“o Beato Antônio de Noto”) holding a rock in his right hand and a crucifix in his left and preceded by an angel holding the Latin inscription: “*Niger in facie, sed formosus in corde*” (Black in appearance, but beautiful in the heart”). Andrea Aparecida della Valentina, “Crônica de uma dispersão anunciada: As imagens da Capela da Ordem Terceira da Penitência e da Igreja Conventual de São Francisco de Vitória” MA Thesis (Vitória: Universidade Federal de Espírito Santo, 2009), 85.

⁶⁷ Image Source: Museu de Arte Sacra (MAS) São Paulo, Brasil.

As we have seen in the case of Saint Benedict, the way in which black sanctity was imagined and represented in visual and written texts engaged with the color-based power dynamics of Iberian colonialism and Brazilian slavery. Whereas I have not been able to determine from historical documentation whether the 1684 brotherhood *compromisso* was ever questioned, a decade later a frontispiece depicting another black saint provoked a priest's written criticism.

Even though the less popular than Saint Benedict, the black Saint Anthony was also venerated by multi-ethnic populations in early colonial Brazil.⁶⁸ Whereas seventeenth-century devotees in Sicily referred to the manumitted slave-saint from Catalgirone with intimate familiarity by calling him "Tio," Angolans and *creoles* (Brazilian-born blacks) in urban Salvador de Bahia affirmed Saint Anthony's privileged status as their "Glorious Saint" by founding their own black confraternity in the parish church of São Pedro.⁶⁹ In their 1699 *compromisso*, the African and Afro-Brazilian founders of the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony of Catalgirone affirmed their exclusive

⁶⁸ As early as 1592 an informal black confraternity under the invocation of Saint Anthony of Catalgirone was already functioning in the Cathedral of the city of São Paulo. Caponero, "Festas paulistanas em perspectiva histórica de longa duração" 111; 118. In Brazil, the black Saint Anthony was called interchangeably Santo Antônio de Catageró/Catagerona or Santo Antônio de Noto. Andrea Aparecida Della Valentina, "Crônica de uma dispersão anunciada: As imagens da Capela da Ordem Terceira da Penitência e da Igreja Conventual de São Francisco de Vitória," Master's Thesis (Vitória: Universidad Federal do Espírito Santo, 2009), 151.

⁶⁹ Fiume, "Antonio Etiope e Benedito, o mouro," 62.

rights to administer their religious institution.⁷⁰ They also specified that even though only Angolans and creoles could be elected as administrative officers, “all and whomsoever, persons of any state or condition,” were welcomed as members provided they paid the required entrance fee.⁷¹ Since Portuguese members were expected to pay more than the modest sum of one *pataca*—or 320\$ *réis*—the price of admission required of its poorest members, many of whom likely remained enslaved, the brotherhood likely depended upon alms donations free populations—both white and black—regardless of if they were registered members. The brotherhood’s founders couched their inclusive admission policy in religious terms, stating that all who desired to serve God and the “glorious Saint” Anthony,” should be welcomed as a brothers and sisters.

Significantly, the *compromisso*’s main textual body is preceded by Latin scriptural prologue which quotes Jesus’ exhortation that his disciplines to store up their treasures in heaven by selling their clothes and giving alms to the poor.⁷² This moralizing

⁷⁰ *The Catholic University of America*, Oliveira Lima Library, MS No. I 16. “Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Antonio de Catagerona cita na Matris de S. Pedro desta cidade da Bahya; que seus devotos hão de guardar feito no anno de 1699.” 54 numbered folios dating from between 1699 and 1754.

⁷¹ “(...) todas e quais quer pessoas de qual quer Estado ou condição que seja dando cada hũa pataca.” Ibid. Chapter II “Dos Officiais que averã” f. 4r, and Chapter III “Da entrada dos Irmãos” f. 8r. As in Bahia, black creoles and Angolans collaborated to found Rosary brotherhoods. Lucilene Reginaldo, “Os Rosários dos Angolas: Irmandades negras, experiências escravas e identidades africanas na Bahia setecentista” Doctoral Dissertation, (Campinas: Universidad Estadual de Campinas, 2005), 101-104; 156-162. For a comparative example in the case of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais, see, for example, Elizabeth Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 116-118.

⁷² The passage is from the Gospel of Luke 12:22, 32-34 and the biblical citation-- *Sequentia Sancti Evangelii Secundum Lucam*—functions as a framing device. Though the ornamental calligraphy is legible, there is a minor scribal error towards the end as the Latin words *vester ibi est* are awkwardly combined as *vestere ibi est*.

passage not only places a demand on the reading/listening publics to act charitably, but also evokes the financial precarity. Though I am unsure if this Latin preface formed part of the *compromisso*'s yearly recitation before the brotherhood's largely-illiterate members, its oral rhetoric recalls the brotherhood's familiarity with sermons preached from the pulpit and perhaps also lessons in catechism. It is possible, however, that the Latin passage would have been read as an implicit reminder to brotherhood members to not only pay their annual dues but to demonstrate sacrificial generosity.

Though filling their coffers may have been a challenge, the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony emphasized its status as mutual-aid society directly concerned with attending to its members' spiritual and physical necessities, including legal defense and protection from the abuses of Brazilian slavery. In the thirteenth chapter of their 1699 *compromisso*, the black administrators asserted:

[...] the Brotherhood, having the money for that effect, will assist any enslaved man or woman who desire to free themselves, or to become free, by paying their bond so that they can free themselves, and in this the Treasurer cannot posit any doubt [or impediment].⁷³

The Brotherhood of Saint Anthony was not exceptional in asserting its financial autonomy as a religious institution capable of advancing loans according to regulations

⁷³ “ (...) “todo o homẽ ou mulher sogeito que se quizera livrar, e ser forro, acudirá a isso a Irmandade tendo dinheyro para o dito effeito, e dando fiança se lhe darã pera se poder forar a que o Thezoureiro nam pora duvida alguã.” Ibid. Chapter XIII “Dos Irmãos que se quizerem forrar” f. 21r.

established its administrative board or *Meza*. For example, the previously-mentioned black Brotherhood of Saint Benedict likewise stipulated in their 1684 *compromisso* that any free member of the brotherhood who had already served on its *Meza* (governing board) could petition for a loan advance, and in response the brotherhood promised “to give the requested money, by reason of collateral credit insured with gold or silver dust, or with mortgaged properties that are justly possessed and without a lien.”⁷⁴ Contrasting with the brotherhood of Saint Anthony which willingly and specifically loaned money to enslaved members desiring manumission, the wealthier brotherhood of Saint Benedict restricted loan advances to free blacks who had already served on its governing board, thus inhibiting slaves concerned with improving their social status through manumission from depending upon the brotherhood for legal defense or financial support.

Though the brotherhoods in Brazil was already functioning informally, they had to first present their *compromisso* to the local Reverend Provisor D. Sebastião de Valle Pontes (1663-1736) before it was reviewed by the Archbishop of Bahia Dom João Franco de Oliveira (1691-1700), and lastly by Crown officials who supplied them with a royal license. Though this trans-Atlantic process was often so delayed that Brazilian brotherhoods might wait over a decade before receiving official confirmation of their

⁷⁴ “(...) “se lhe dará a razão de juro o dinheiro que pedir com segurança de pinhoes de ouro, e prata, ou hipotecando bens de raiz, que sejam propios, e desimpedido.” (APEB). Seção Colonial e Provincial. Dossiê sobre Irmandades, conventos, igrejas e pessoal eclesiástico. Maço 614-2. “Compromisso da Irmandade de São Benedito da Matriz de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia”, not numerated. Ch XIII “Em beneficio dos Irmaões”.

compromissos, within a month the Reverend Pontes had already sent his written response concerning the brotherhood petition to the Archbishop of Bahia. Significantly, even before he addressed the textual content of their bylaws, the Portuguese priest took issue with the brotherhood’s frontispiece illustration of their black patron Saint Anthony.



Figure 7: Frontispiece illustration representing Saint Anthony of Catagerona from the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony’s 1699 *compromisso*. The Catholic University of America, Oliveira Lima Library, MS No. I 16.

According to Pontes, the “image of the painted Saint” (Figure 7) was problematic for two reasons. Firstly, the brotherhood Saint Anthony “dressed in a cowl...as if he had been a friar” and secondly, they represented him with “an image of the Christ Child in his arms” though “there is no evidence that the Lord ever appeared [to him] or granted him

any favors.”⁷⁵ Besides questioning the verisimilitude of the brotherhood’s depiction of Saint Anthony wearing the Franciscan cowl—as if he had been a friar—and holding the Christ Child—as if the Christ Child had miraculously appeared to him or granted him special favors—the Reverend Pontes also ordered that “images of this [black]saint should be painted and dressed without a cowl and with a cross in his hands, as is done in the chapel of the Third Order of the Franciscans of this city.”⁷⁶ Significantly, he recommended the brotherhood visually reconfigure their patron saint using an image-prototype from the chapel of the city’s exclusively-white Third Order of the Franciscans.⁷⁷ Though I have not been able to locate the seventeenth-century image from the Franciscan Third Order which, according to Pontes, would have depicted the black Saint Anthony with a cross and *not* the Christ Child in his hands and *not* wearing the Franciscan cowl, a contemporary sculpture from Salvador de Bahia suggests an important distinction

⁷⁵ “[...] não posso deixar de tocar em duas couzas, q acho na Imagen do S^{to} pintado no principio deste Livro.. A primeira he: ver o santo vestido com capelo como se houvesse sido Frade.. A segunda he: ter o santo a Imagen de Christo Menino nos Braços...” The English translation is from Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, (Wilmington, S.R. Books, 2002), 287 and is cited in the following manner: “Letter from Sebastião do Valle Pontes to the Archbishop of Bahia, Dom João Franco de Oliveira (06/01/1699).” n.p.

⁷⁶ “[...] e assim me parese, q athe mais clara noticia, se pintem, e fação as Imagens deste santo sem capello no Abito, e com huma cruz nas mãos, como se acha na Caza dos 3^{os} de S. Francisco desta Cidade...”

⁷⁷ On the history of the Franciscan Third Order in Salvador de Bahia and São Paulo, see Marieta Alves, *História da Venerável Ordem 3^a da Penitência do Seráfico P^o São Francisco da Congregação da Bahia*, (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1948); Frei Adalberto Ortmann, *História da Antiga Capela da Ordem Terceira da Penitência de São Francisco em São Paulo 1676-1783*, (Rio de Janeiro: Directoria do IPHAN, 1951). On the use of religious imagery in penitential processions organized by the Third Order of the Franciscans in Bahia and Minas Gerais see, Maria Helena Flexor, "Imagens de roca e de vestir na Bahia." *Revista Ohun* 2 (2005): 165-184; Marcos Hill, “Fragmentos de mística e vanidade na arte de um templo de Minas: a Capela da Ordem Terceira de São Francisco de Ouro Preto,” *Revista do IAC/UFOP* 2 (1994): 38-48; Adalgisa Arantes Campos, “As Ordens Terceiras de São Francisco nas Minas coloniais: cultura artística e Procissão de Cinzas.” *Imagem Brasileira*, 1 (2001): 137-144.

between the visual devotions of populations of African descent and the privileged white members of the Third Order of the Franciscans (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Anonymous. “Saint Anthony of Catalgirone.” 17th century polychrome and gilded statue. Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Pelourinho, Salvador de Bahia.⁷⁸

This polychrome sculpture, which can be dated to at or before 1685, was likely paired with an altar-image of the Virgin of the Rosary venerated by a local black

⁷⁸ <http://www.categero.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Categero-Igr-RosPret-BA.jpg>

confraternity. It was originally housed in the Cathedral of Sé and later transferred to a new location—the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks—which was famously constructed by the city’s free and enslaved blacks between 1704 and 1710. Though currently located in a side chapel behind the Church’s main office, it may have originally been exhibited in the church’s sacristy, perhaps in a collateral altar-niche proximate to the altarpiece of the Virgin of the Rosary, the brotherhood and church’s patron saint.

Just as in the case of the 1699 frontispiece image, the black Brotherhood of the Rosary’s seventeenth-century sculpture visualizes Saint Anthony as a Franciscan friar clothed in a richly-gilded habit and cincture. However, whereas in the brotherhood’s watercolor the saint holds a cross in his left hand while his right arm balances an oddly-proportioned, nude Christ child (who in turn displays a miniature palm symbolizing glory), Saint Anthony’s polychrome statue lacks any accompanying symbols or attributes. Significantly, even in the figural absence of the cross and Christ Child, the directed positioning of Saint Anthony’s sculpted arms directly mirrors the brotherhood’s painted image, suggesting that these iconographic symbols were added and subtracted from the statue’s base. As previously discussed, one saint’s identifying attribute such as a cross could also be transferred to another saint if needed for public processions. A close look at the saint’s gestural movement, for example, implies that the original sculpture likely held two, now absent, items. Saint Anthony raises his left arm up, his fist clenched

to reveal just a small opening where a processional cross could be inserted. As in the case of the painted frontispiece, the black saint's right arm is poised vertically at the waist, such that the absent Christ Child is visually re-membered. In other words, while the watercolor depicts the infant Christ, the latter's symbolic presence is also gestured in the contemporary sculpture altar-piece from the Church of the Rosary of the Blacks.

Taken together, the seventeenth-century frontispiece painting and sculpted image of Saint Anthony together testify to the existence of multiple, at times interchangeable and contested representations of black sanctity in the majority-black port city of Salvador de Bahia. Moreover, the fact that Reverend Pontes positioned the image of Saint Anthony from the Franciscan Third Order as a model of orthodoxy, suggests that popular devotional images venerated by populations of African descent differed from those of white, privileged elites in politically strategic ways. Given the complex relationship between color and power in slave-holding Brazil, the blackness of Saint Anthony may have been particularly important to his Afro-descended devotees who, regardless of their status as free or enslaved, were often stigmatized for their color. For example, by gazing at the image of a glorious black saint—who was both intimately loved and physically proximate to God—populations of African descent, like those of European ancestry, might have been strengthened in their spiritual devotions. Moreover, since enslaved populations often raised the lighter-skinned children of their masters, the image of a black saints holding a white Christ would have powerful cultural resonance in Brazilian

society. Considering that populations of African descent constituted a demographic majority in seventeenth-century port-cities like Salvador de Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, the depiction of an elderly black man holding a white infant would have likely held symbolic purchase among both white and black devotees. The Portuguese priest's visual contestation of Saint Anthony's image parallels the contradictory relations between Afro-descended populations in seventeenth-century slave-holding Brazil and the Church's discourse on slavery.⁷⁹ Ultimately, these images of the black saints affected black and white devotees in ways that spilled beyond spiritual devotion to dialogue with the prevailing politics of color and status.

The Brotherhood's 1699 frontispiece image can be simultaneously interpreted in two, seemingly contradictory ways: as a visualization of Saint Anthony as Christ's black servant and thus, a model of Catholic humility and obedience; and a powerful marker of the privileged status of a black Saint who was chosen to receive God's incarnate body. One corollary to the second interpretation, however, is the possibility of third reading in which, through the act of physical proximity, the celestial power of the white Christ becomes symbolically displaced onto the black body of Saint Anthony. Significantly, the more popular black Franciscan saint—Saint Benedict of Palermo—was commonly

⁷⁹ On the inter-cultural development of black Catholicism in Brazil, see: Marina de Mello e Souza, "The Construction of a Black Catholic Identity in Brazil during the Time of Slavery: Saints and Minkisi: A Reflection of Cultural Miscegenation," in Barry Boubacar, Elisee Akpo Soumonni, and Livio Sansone eds., *Africa, Brazil, and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), 255-268.

represented cradling the Christ Child in his arms, as shown in a seventeenth-century altar-image from the Franciscan Church and Convent in Salvador de Bahia (Figure 9).



Figure 9: Saint Benedict with the Christ Child. Polychrome and gilded wood. 17th century. Franciscan Church and Convent in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil.⁸⁰

It is possible that the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony borrowed liberally from other black saints such as Saint Benedict of Palermo as models for their iconography.

⁸⁰ <http://arquiocesalvador.org.br/site/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/S%C3%A3o-Benedito.jpg>

Alternatively, they may have also strategically represented the black saint cradling the Christ Child to invoke the visual power of his more famous white namesake, the Portuguese Saint Anthony of Lisbon or Padua (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Anonymous. “Apparition of the Christ Child to Saint Anthony” 17th century, oil on wood, 80 x 90 cm. Museu dos Biscainhos, Braga, Portugal.⁸¹

Crossing Color: The Black/White Saint Antonies

⁸¹ During the fourteenth century, Saint Anthony was commonly figured holding a book given his reputation as a defender of orthodoxy who fought against Albigensian or Cathar heretics in southern France during the thirteenth century. On Saint Anthony’s varied iconography see Carlos A. Moreira Azevedo, “Variantes iconográficas nas representações antonianas,” *Cultura* 27 (2010): 41-55.

Commonly known as the “Advogado das Causas Perdidas” (Advocate of Lost Causes) the Lusophone Saint Anthony was a powerful thaumaturge venerated by multi-ethnic populations throughout the Iberian Atlantic World, and particularly in Portuguese Brazil. Though in 1595 French Lutherans sacked the Franciscan Convent in Salvador, desecrating the altar-image of Saint Anthony and throwing it into the sea, the miraculous image was later discovered by a local from Sergipe and returned its original proprietors. Later on, in 1609 after the Portuguese army expelled the French, Salvador’s municipal declared Saint Anthony the city’s patron saint.”⁸² In his 1638 sermon commemorating the Portuguese expulsion of the Dutch, the Jesuit priest Vieira likewise invoked Saint Anthony’s military prowess by referring to him as “nosso divino defensor,” [our divine defender].⁸³ The Portuguese also claimed Saint Anthony as the “restorer” of Catholic Brazil after Dutch Calvinist occupation (1630-1654), crediting his military intervention with their decisive 1645 victory against the Dutch in Pernambuco.

Saint Anthony’s reputation as a powerful warrior who could recover both lost things and persons was further demonstrated by the fact that during the 1685 Portuguese military campaign to subdue the run-away slave community of *Palmares* in Pernambuco, Saint Anthony was enlisted as an officer or common soldier whose salary was disbursed

⁸² Jabotão, *Novo Orbe Serafico*, II: 80-87.

⁸³ “Sermão de Santo Antônio. Pregado na Igreja e dia do mesmo Santo, havendo os Holandeses levantado o sítio que tinham posto à Bahia, assentando os seus quartéis e baterias em frente da mesma igreja” in Antônio Vieira and Antônio de Abreu Freire, *Sermões de Santo Antônio*, (Lisboa: Portugalia Ed. 2008,) 389-420. On the politics behind the devotional cult to Saint Anthony in Portuguese Brazil see Ronaldo Vainfas, “Santo Antônio na América Portuguesa: religiosidade e política,” *Revista USP* 57(2003): 28-37.

to the Franciscan Order.⁸⁴ In 1705, Salvador's municipal council elected Saint Anthony their city's patron saint and instituted an annual procession celebrating Portuguese Crown's victory over the Dutch occupation of Brazil be held in his honor. In addition, local authorities commissioned a silver-plated image representing Saint Anthony to decorate the interior chapel of their military fort of Santo Antonio de Barra and, like their counterparts in Pernambuco, they also ordered that Saint Anthony's military assistance in battle be financed by the fort's officials, who were required to pay his annual salary—at the rank of Captain—to the Franciscan Convent.⁸⁵

At the same time as the Portuguese fought against Dutch heresy in Brazil, in 1645 Italian Capuchin missionaries in the Christian Kingdom of Kongo promoted the Franciscan founders of their order—Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Anthony of Padua/Lisbon—by preaching sermons based on published Portuguese and Latin texts such as hagiographies, sermons, and miracle accounts. It is likely that by the latter half of the seventeenth-century published sermons dedicated to Saint Anthony preached by the Jesuit priest Antônio Vieira in various places between 1638 and 1672, circulated among missionaries in Central Africa.⁸⁶ Moreover, while hailed as the patron saint of Salvador

⁸⁴ Evaldo Cabral de Melo, *Rubro Veio: O Imaginário da Restauração Pernambucana* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 1997), 306-312; 317-318. See also, Luiz Mott, "Santo Antônio, o Divino Capitão-Mato," in *Liberdade por um Fio* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 110-138

⁸⁵ Frei Jabotão, *Novo Orbe Serafico*, II: 70-72.

⁸⁶ In 1649 Italian Capuchin missionaries established their own Convent in Luanda under the invocation of Saint Anthony, bringing with them relics from Rome to further promote locals' devotion to Franciscan saints. Cadornega, *História geral das guerras angolanas*, 16-17. On the Vieira's published sermons of

de Bahia as well as of Lisbon, the Lusophone Saint Anthony was also widely venerated in the Central African Kingdom of the Kongo, that in 1704, the Kongolese Queen Beatriz Kimpa Vita (1704-1706) promised to restore health and harmony to her dismembered kingdom by declaring herself to be Saint Anthony's incarnation. The Kongolese Queen, whose followers were referred to as "Antonians" was probably influenced by Jesuit and Franciscan missionary discourse promoting Saint Anthony as a restorer and defender of lost things, persons, and even territorial realms such as Brazil.⁸⁷ But what meaning did slaves who worshipped Saint Anthony in late seventeenth-century Brazil attribute to the Lusophone saint who had been credited with restoring Dutch-occupied Brazil to the Portuguese Crown?

If the Lusophone Saint Anthony, who had been praised with ousting the Dutch from Salvador in 1638, was powerful enough to restore an entire colony to the Portuguese Crown, then could he not also help his dispossessed devotees—enslaved persons who had lost their liberty—in their search for manumission? Even though he was commonly depicted as a friar tenderly embracing a miniature Christ Child, in

Saint Anthony as they informed the Kongolese Queen Kimpa Vita's messianic movement see Robert W. Slenes, "Saint Anthony at the Crossroads in Kongo and Brazil: 'Creolization' and Identity Politics in the Black South Atlantic ca. 1700/1850," in *Africa, Brazil, and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), 213-214.

⁸⁷ For a thorough analysis of the eighteenth-century Antonian movement led by the prophetess Queen Kimpa Vita, see John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

seventeenth-century Brazil Saint Anthony was evidently held to be a powerful warrior-saint, capable of combating heresy, defending the Portuguese against French and Dutch invaders, and recovering lost things, including fugitive slaves.⁸⁸

By visually conflating the black and white Saint Anthony without distinguishing between them in terms of color, status, or hierarchy, the black brotherhood accessed a broader range of powerful intermediaries that were available to them in seventeenth-century. The anonymous artist of the 1699 brotherhood's frontispiece, besides liberally borrowing from iconographic depictions of other black saints such as Saint Benedict, may have also creatively juxtaposed the black Saint Anthony with his white namesake to enhance his cultural power. By depicting the black Anthony as the equivalent of the powerful Lusophone Saint Anthony of Lisbon—capable of restoring objects, persons, and even territories—the brotherhood of Saint Anthony visually channeled their political agenda to defend the manumission of slave members.⁸⁹

While the eighteenth-century Franciscan chronicler Frei Jabotão argued that dark-skinned populations in Brazil “particularly” favored Saint Benedict given their “affinity of color,” seventeenth-century black Brotherhoods also invoked images of white,

⁸⁸ On seventeenth-century depictions of Saint Anthony see Victor Stoichita, *El Ojo místico: Pintura y visión religiosa en el siglo de oro español*, (Madrid: Alianza, 1995), 116-118.

⁸⁹ Moreover, at the same time as the 1699 watercolor frontispiece from the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony of Caltagirone testified to their involvement in a complex visual process of presenting black sanctity as glorious power, it is also possible that the “Ethiopian” saint was ideologically conflated with his more famous white namesake: the Portuguese Saint Anthony of Lisbon of Padua.

European saints to assert their social and political agendas while push the ideological limits of slave-based color hierarchies. Rather than concern themselves with following or breaking Catholic hagiographic tradition, the administrators of the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony were involved in a broader process of visual re-signification, one that disassociated blackness from slavery. In this last reading, the importance of Saint Anthony's color is secondary to his celestial privilege. Even more than his status as a former slave capable of commiserating with suffering populations, he was also a powerful mediator who could protect and defend devotees in Brazil. Saint Anthony's physical proximity to the infant Christ thus marked him as a privileged saint, whose blackness—being linked to his divinity—was glorified and worthy of universal recognition.

The Portuguese priest's rejection of the Saint Anthony's image, as will be demonstrated, also expressed broader colonial concerns over black brotherhoods' institutional autonomy linked to their social practices of manumitting slaves. After his visual critique, Pontes took issue with the written composition of the brotherhood's 1699 *compromisso*. Firstly, he highlighted a perceived textual absence from the second chapter of their bylaws concerning the annually-elected, privileged position of treasurer. In Pontes estimate, the brotherhood's pronouncement that treasurers be "men of saintly conscience" was inadequate because it neglected to identity the "condition of their persons." Even though he admitted "some blacks can possess good conscience" he

argued that because the treasurer was responsible for protecting the brotherhood's patrimony, he should also be "intelligent, secure, and wealthy." These three qualities, according to Pontes, were, "even if the were free blacks" rarely found in persons of African-descent. As such, their bylaws be modified so that the treasurer by "a white man" who could ensure the "good government" of the black brotherhood.⁹⁰

In addition to qualifying that only a white treasurer should oversee their financial administration, Pontes also ordered the brotherhood rectify a chapter concerning its institutional practice as a mutual-aid society that advanced loans towards slaves' purchase of manumission. According to the Portuguese priest, even if freeing captives was indeed "a work of mercy and something very pious and very holy" it should not be privileged above other charitable works such as providing alms for the poor, sick, and imprisoned. Pontes continued to filter his condemnation of the brotherhood's manumitting practices through a religious framework by arguing that slaves' *individual* concern for freedom was anomie to the *collective* well-being of the Catholic institution. Specifically, he explained that "slave brothers and sisters" were always "taken by the desire to become free" such that even when loaning money to manumit others they did so "with the hope that on another occasion the same favor will be done to them."⁹¹ As such,

⁹⁰ "[...] homens de sam consciencia, sem declarar a condição das pessoas..bom governo desta confraria...inteligente, segura, e abonada...indo sendo livres." Ibid.

⁹¹ "Por ser certo, q indo q o concorrer p^a as liberdades dos cautivos seja obra de Misericordia, e couza m^{ta} pia e m^{ta} santa, todavia não convem q prefira esta obra a outras das q necessita esta confraria, e levados os Irmãos cativos do dir^{to} de serem livres, facilitarão os imprestimos do preço com a esperança de q em outra

Pontes stated that *no money* should be leant from the brotherhood's coffers "for such freedoms nor anything, no matter how pious" without first receiving a royal license from the Portuguese Crown.

These political contestations over the institutional practices of black Catholic brotherhoods in colonial Brazil testifies to the powerful mobility of perceptions of color across the seventeenth-century Portuguese Atlantic World. In cities across seventeenth-century Portuguese Brazil, black confraternities dedicated themselves to obtaining the earthly liberty of their enslaved members. For example, in the recently established bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, by 1640 free and enslaved populations had established two black confraternities in the Church of São Salvador— one dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary, and the other to Saint Benedict.⁹² Years later, the black confraternity devoted to the Virgin of the Rosary became the subject of tense political debates that crossed the Atlantic in relation to one of the brotherhood's "charitable" activity: the manumission of slaves. In a 1685 letter addressed to the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Duarte Teixeira

ocazião lhes façao a mesma graça com detrim^{to} da confraria, alem da se não poderem emprestar os bens da Irmand^e sem l^a de S. Ill^a, ou de seo Provisor, declarando o Cap^o 13^o se não emprestará dinheiro algum p^a as taes liberd^{es}, nem p^a outra couza por mais pia q seja, sem l^a do d^o Ill^o Senhor, sob pena de ser castigado como parese just^a: alem de satisfazer a Irm^{de} assim o q emprestar, como toda a perda, e dano q a Irmandade nisto receber." Ibid.

⁹² Antonia Aparecida Quintão, *Lá vem o meu parente: as irmandades de pretos e pardos no Rio de Janeiro e em Pernambuco, século XVIII*, (São Paulo: Annablume, 2002), 135.

Chaves, the Portuguese Monarch responded to a petition sent by the Brotherhood of the Rosary concerning the mistreatment of enslaved members, writing:

On behalf of the Brothers of the Lady of the Rosary and Redemption of this Captaincy it was represented to me here that there are several slave Brothers from some houses that are in oppressive captivity and some of them find themselves with sufficient ransom to purchase their freedom, but since the Brotherhood cannot do it [manumit them] without my License, I charge you to inform me of your opinion concerning this petition...⁹³

Responding to the King's request, the governor in Rio mobilized religious and socio-economic objections to allowing the black brotherhood to purchase the liberty of its enslaved members. Specifically, he argued that formerly enslaved free blacks were "more prone to ruining themselves through vices" and to "pass along walking better than others." Moreover, he noted that the brotherhood often lent financial support to slaves who were "not even in the worst slavery" and who "do not even complain of their *senhores*" thus damaging "these [slave-holding] residents" of Brazil.⁹⁴ The Governor of Rio's pro-slavery stance was further supported by local Crown officials, who likewise

⁹³ "Por parte dos Irmãos da Sra. do Rosário e Resgate dessa Capitania se me representou aqui terem alguns Irmãos cativos em algumas casas com ruim cativo, e por alguns deles se acharem com bastante resgate para se libertarem, o não podia fazer a dita Irmandade sem Licença minha, encomendo-vos que me informeis com vosso parecer sobre este requerimento..." Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Códice 925, vol. 3, folha 202, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e Resgate do Rio de Janeiro (1685/01/12). Cited in *Ibid.*, 138.

⁹⁴ "[...] porque é muito prejudicial a estes moradores, pois os que intentam restar-se não são os que tem pior cativo, nem a maior queixa de seus senhores, antes pelo contrário, que os tais passam e andam melhor que os outros e talvez que com isso se estragaram mais nos vícios..." Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (IEB). Coleção Lamengo, Códice 58.16.A8. (Parecer de Duarte Teixeira Chaves, Governador do Rio de Janeiro, sobre o resgate dos cativos pertencentes à Irmandade de Nossa Sra. do Rosário), RJ, 1685/05/20. Cited in *Ibid.*, 139.

underscored the “detriment” that would result from freeing slaves’ obtaining their liberty, explaining:

Because, sir, the greatest part of the capital of the inhabitants of this state consists in their slave persons....some do steal from the inhabitants on occasion, but if they could purchase their own freedom they would steal even more, and they would leave the rest of their number in liberty such that in my understanding the following two great ills would occur; the robberies would increase, and the sugar-mills would cease working from lack of workers...because without punishment, fear, and the great bondage of slavery Brazil could not be preserved...⁹⁵

Like the Church, the Crown recognized enslaved blacks as both persons with souls as well as legal property, however, the Portuguese King tended to symbolically align itself with the interests of slave-holders by denying brotherhoods’ petitions to purchase their enslaved members’ freedom.⁹⁶ Similarly, when the Pontes responded to the black brotherhood of Saint Anthony’s 1699 petition for a royal license, he attempted to limit the discretionary use of institutional property and monies by invoking to the specter of the Portuguese Monarch, a divinely-sanctioned minister with the ecclesiastical authority to exact his vassals’ obedience through punitive corporal as well as fiscal measures. As the Grandmaster of the Order of Christ appointed by the Pope, the King not

⁹⁵ “Porque senhor a maior parte dos cabedais dos moradores deste estado consiste em pessoas de escravos e escravas...os quais fazem a seus moradores alguns furtos, e se puderem resgatar os farão maiores, e se porão os mais deles em liberdade de que resultarão dois grandes danos a saber; crescerem os furtos, e brevemente em cessar os engenhos por falta de serventes...porque sem castigo, temor, e grande sujeição nos escravos não se pode conservar o Brasil...” Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (IEB). Coleção Lamengo, Códice 58.17.A8 (Traslado de uns Autos que vão remetidos a S.M., sobre a liberdade dos Irmão de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e resposta que deram os oficiais da Câmara desta Cidade. 1685/04/25). Cited *Ibid.*, 139-140.

⁹⁶ On the relationship between the Crown’s 1686 royal decree and the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and Ransom in Rio de Janeiro’s manumission of slaves, see Aparecida Quintão, *Lá vem o meu parente*, 136-143.

only provided licenses for the foundation of lay sodalities but required that they receive prior permission before temporarily loaning out their institutional property. By referring to these royal restrictions, Pontes simultaneously asserted the legal definition of slaves as property that could not be moved geographically—or ascend socially by acquiring their liberty—without permission from himself as the Reverend Provisor or a direct license from the Crown, but he also underscores his own personal power to punish anyone who illegally distributed the brotherhood’s goods (whether by advancing loans to manumit slaves or lending out institutional property). These persons, he declared, should not only expect punishment according to royal “justice”, but would also be held responsible for repaying loans as well as whatever “loss and damage” was incurred by the brotherhood.⁹⁷ Evidently, Pontes’ effort to police the black brotherhood’s religious imagery was inextricable from broader concerns about the color-based economy of master-slave relations that supported Luso-Brazilian elites’ economic power. Not surprisingly, when the Archbishop of Bahia Dom João Franco de Oliveira (1691-1700) reviewed Pontes’ letter concerning the Brotherhood’s bylaws, he ordered that all the Portuguese priest’s amendments to its *written* bylaws be instituted “without any contrary alteration or interpretation” since these modifications provided for the “good government” of the

⁹⁷ “Letter from Sebastião do Valle Pontes to the Archbishop of Bahia, Dom João Franco de Oliveira (06/01/1699).” n.p. The Catholic University of America, Oliveira Lima Library, MS No. I 16. Document included within the dosiser containing the “Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Antonio de Catagerona cita na Matris de S. Pedro desta cidade da Bahya; que seus devotos hão de guardar feito no anno de 1699.” 23 folios numerated.

black brotherhood. Invoking his “ordinary authority and judicial decree” the Archbishop went on to approve the black brotherhood’s bylaws, registering it with his chapter’s scribe and signing and stamping it with his chancery seal.⁹⁸ But why didn’t the Archbishop address Pontes’ visual critique of the brotherhood’s image?

As far as I can attest, the black members of the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony never revised their frontispiece. Moreover, the fact that images of the black Saint Benedict holding the white Baby Jesus were widespread throughout colonial Brazil suggests that the Archbishop may have perceived the two black saints as interchangeable. Even if the Archbishop did not dedicate time to the brotherhood’s heterodox portrayal of their black saint, Pontes’ textual and visual critique illustrates the powerful intersections between color, religion, and power. Despite the weakness of the Church to enforce religious orthodoxy in Brazil, royal and ecclesiastical officials often sought to limit the institutional autonomy of black brotherhoods that directly or indirectly threatened the color-based relations of colonial slavery that supported Portuguese socio-economic and political domination.

Conclusion: Competing Visions of Trans-Atlantic Blackness

This chapter has explored how local and imperial agents—free and enslaved populations, artists/scribes, ecclesiastical authorities, and royal officials—involved in the

⁹⁸ “(...) sem alteração ou interpretação alguma em contraria...por assi convir ao bom regimen da dita Irmandade...autoridade ordinaria e decreto judicial.”Ibid. Authorization of the 1699 *Compromisso* of the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony of Catagerona by Archbishop of Bahia, Dom João Franco de Oliveira” (15/06/1699). n.p. The Catholic University of America, Oliveira Lima Library, MS No. I 16.

official establishment of the black brotherhood fashioned the multiple significances attributed to black sanctity. As such, visual contestations over black brotherhoods' saints—whether black, brown, or white—intersected with political debates over their institutional autonomy within the color-based hierarchies of Portuguese colonialism and black slavery. The multiple and often contradictory ways in which images of black sanctity were mobilized and contested, I have argued, relected mobile and contested ideas about color difference and social hierachy both within and beyond colonial Brazil. Whereas the Iberian Church and Crown channeled lay devotion to black saints to affirm the colonial religious and racial hierarchies of African slavery, African and Afro-descended populations in West Central Africa and Brazil reconfigured black sanctity to consolidate alternative visions of color, seeing through Saint Benedict and Saint Anthony, their own ancestral Christian privilege.

Chapter 2. Coloring Catholicism: Portuguese Colonialism, Central African Slavery, and Black Atlantic Ritual Traditions 16th to 18th centuries

In June 1696, the French traveler François Froger witnessed the public celebration of Corpus Christi in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil.¹ Besides ecclesiastical and municipal authorities, including the Viceroy and Governor-General of Brazil Dom João de Lencastre (1694-1702), artisan guilds and multi-ethnic Catholic brotherhoods would have also been participated in the city's public festivities with their own ritual corteges, banners, and images of patron-saints.² Though duly impressed by the “vast number of Crosses, shrines, rich ornaments, armed Troops, Companies, and Religious Orders” carried through the streets, Froger derided the religious celebrations' accompanying performances by exclaiming “'tis ridiculous for the Masquerades, Musical Instruments, and Dancers that attend thereat, and who by their wanton Postures, invert the end of this Holy Ceremony.”³ Without explicitly identifying the masqueraded attendees whose “wanton Postures” threatened to subvert the solemnity of the religious ceremony, Froger

¹ François Froger, *A Relation of a Voyage made in the Years 1695, 1696 & 1697 on the Coasts of Africa, Strait of Magellan, Brasil, Caeyenna, and the Antilles, by a Squadron of French Men of War under the Command of M. de Gennes—Illustrated with various strange Figures drawn to the Life* (London: M. Gillyflower, W. Freeman, M. Wotton, J. Waltho, and R. Parker), 1698.

² Under Lisbon's ecclesiastical constitutions, followed in Brazil until 1707, religious orders and lay brotherhoods were all required to participate in religious festivities sponsored by the municipal council such as Corpus Christi or face punishment including fines and jail time. *Constituições do Arcebispo de Lisboa...* (Lisboa: Belchior Rodrigues, 1588), Tit. IX. Das Festas do Anno. For an overview of eighteenth-century celebrations of Corpus Christi in the Portuguese Empire see: Beatriz Catão Cruz Santos, *O Corpo de Deus na América: A festa de Corpus Christi nas cidades da América portuguesa—século XVIII* (São Paulo, SP: Annablume, 2005), 23-56.

³ Froger, *A Relation of a Voyage*, 105.

calls forth the specter of Afro-descended populations who, dancing to the sonorous tides of the *batuque* drumbeats and perhaps escorting African Kings and Queens, traversed the streets of the urban port-city.⁴ By diverting attention from the Catholic object of Corpus Christi—Christ’s Body—the theatrical performances of Salvador’s black majorities horrified the Frenchman’s moral sensibility in ways that reflected broader debates concerning black religion, color, and slavery across the Iberian Atlantic world.⁵

Drawing from previous discussions of the shifting meanings of blackness and sanctity, this chapter analyzes how hybrid ritual traditions that emerged in the “Old” World contexts of Portugal and the Kongo as well as in the “New” World colony of Brazil were empowered through the presence of African slaves and their descendents. Through a multi-perspectival analysis of ethnographic images, sculptures, illustrated missionary reports, and Inquisition trials, it first tracks religious debates about African conversion linked to the popular religiosity of multi-racial populations in late colonial Brazil. that circulated across the Luso-African Atlantic world. Next, it demonstrates how free and enslaved populations of African descent confronted the social hierarchies of Brazilian slavery by performatively embodying their own spiritual kinship communities

⁴ Even though Froger does not specifically mention the ritual corteges of African royalty or *congadas* during the 1696 Salvador procession, black kings and queens formed part of eighteenth-century religious and civic processions throughout Brazil. Marina de Mello e Souza, *Reis Negros no Brasil Escravista* (Belo Horizonte: Editoria UFMG, 2002), 179-208.

⁵ According to a 1724 ecclesiastical census of Salvador, nearly half of the city’s twenty-five thousand residents were enslaved and a large population of free blacks and mulattos also resided in the urban port. Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, 1550-1835* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 86.

and meta-ethnic political identities both within and beyond the institutional space of Catholic brotherhoods. This chapter argues that Africans and their black and mixed-race descendants in Brazil consolidated devotional kinship relations that not only transformed colonial Portuguese Catholicism but also how color and power was viewed long after the colony's 1822 independence.

Ambivalent Visions: Portuguese Encounters with African Christianity

To understand the complex cultural and historical unfolding of Afro-Brazilian religiosity, we must begin with early sixteenth-century Portuguese encounters with Ethiopian Christianity. In 1501, the Portuguese King Dom Manuel I (1495-1521) asserted his Crown's spiritual and territorial authority granted through the *padroado real* (royal patronage) by proclaimed himself "Lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, India, Arabia, and Persia."⁶ A decade later, he sent also sent a royal embassy led by his chaplain-almoner Padre Francisco Álvares (c. 1465-1541) in search of the legendary Christian Kingdom of Prester John.⁷ After an initial failure, the Portuguese embassy established contact with the Ethiopian Emperor Lebna Dengel in 1520. Emperor

⁶ The *Padroado Real* exercised by the Portuguese as the patron of the Roman Catholic Church, was a privilege conceded by the papacy inferring a series of rights, privileges, as well as obligations. As the *Grão Mestre* of the Order of Christ, the Portuguese King was responsible for the spiritual and political jurisdiction of all Portuguese dominions, both in the continent as well as in Africa, Asia, and Brazil. He was expected to establish and oversee ecclesiastical missions and had the privilege of collecting their royal tithes. For an overview of the number of papal bulls emitted beginning in 1452 concerning the Portuguese *padroado*, see Charles R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 77-84.

⁷ Prester John was a Christian monarch widely hailed by Europeans to have zealously defended his Solomonic dynasty against the military incursions of Moorish forces from the western horn of Africa.

Dengel's Christian lineage could be traced to two biblical monarchs: King Solomon of Jerusalem and his female consort, the Queen of Sheba. After traveling through the sub-Saharan African interior for six years, the Portuguese royal embassy returned to Lisbon, where the royal chaplain's official report, *A True Relation of the Lands of Prester John of the Indies*, was published in 1540.⁸ Padre Álvares missionary account was a European best-seller with translations in Italian, French, Spanish, German and Dutch printed within twenty years of the Portuguese original.⁹ The popular account also served as a primary justification of continued European incursions into African territory.

Padre Álvares' 1540 account, which depicted Africans as Christian neophytes requiring European Catholic oversight, was used to justify the Portuguese Crown's involvement in trans-Atlantic slavery as a missionary enterprise. In the text, the Portuguese priest first situated the Abyssinian Kingdom within the history of Christendom at large by narrating biblical-geographical traditions testifying to the region's ancestral Christian conversion centered on royal figures. For example, the biblical Queen Sheba—the Ethiopian Queen Makeda—gifted King Solomon gold-laden camels from her kingdom but also modeled her own church after the latter's newly-

⁸ Following its first 1540 Lisbon publication in the original Portuguese language, Padre Álvares missionary report spread across European cities in translated editions in Italian (1550), French (1556), Spanish (1557), German (1566), and Dutch (1576), and English (1625).

⁹ For an historical overview of Padre Álvares' 1540 published account as it circulated in print during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see: Francisco Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia During the Years 1520-1527* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1881), Introduction, especially v-vi.

inaugurated temple in Jerusalem.¹⁰ Similarly, the Apostle Saint Philip facilitated the entire kingdom's conversion to Christianity by baptizing the eunuch of the Ethiopian Queen Candace.¹¹ Biblical traditions of an African Christianity that anticipated the birth of Jesus Christ were likewise supported by material evidence left by missionary saints. The Portuguese priest noted that just as the Church of Axum was constructed near the tomb of the Apostle Saint Philip, other Ethiopian churches had been erected on sacred burial grounds and were thus "surrounded by the sepulchers of Saints like Braga in Portugal."¹²

Notwithstanding his detailed account of the privileged biblical lineage of the Abyssinian king Prester John, Padre Álvares' descriptions of Ethiopian liturgy bears witness to Europeans' widespread perceptions of African ritual traditions as visible indices of black cultural alterity. Even though Ethiopian churches contained beautiful devotional murals and processional crosses, according to the Portuguese priest because locals considered themselves "unworthy of seeing the crucified Christ" they lacked painted or sculpted images of the Crucifixion. Moreover, Ethiopian Christians walked barefoot inside the churches to honor God's prescription to Moses to unshod his feet

¹⁰ The biblical references to this history are from 2 Chronicles 9:1-12 and Acts 8:24-26. Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia*, 78-80.

¹¹ The Apostle's baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch fulfilled Isaiah's prophecy to King David in which he declared that "Ethiopia shall arise, and stretch forth her hands to God." Psalms 68:31. Ibid., 80-84.

¹² Ibid., 84-86.

while on holy ground.¹³ The Portuguese priest also criticized Africans' liturgical practices for lacking proper solemnity. Ethiopian priests were always dressed in "some silk cloaks, not very well made," and, when officiating mass, they "shouted rather than intoned" their sermons and would "pray or chant very loud, without art of singing." Deriding African Christian ritual traditions, he noted that Ethiopian priests and their flock "did nothing more than sing and dance and jump" to the noisy instrumentation of African percussive instruments including *tabuques* [tambourines] and *pandeiros* [large kettle-drums].¹⁴

Padre Álvares' account bears witness to the intertwined religious and racial processes that underwrote Portuguese-Catholic global expansion and trans-Atlantic slavery. The Portuguese priest's descriptions of sub-Saharan African Christianity reflexively engaged with his shared patron-public—the Portuguese Crown—by justifying Portuguese imperialism as dual missionary enterprise involving both Christian conversion and cultural-religious reformation. This ideological equilibrium is achieved through his simultaneous avowal and disavowal of African-Christian ancestral privilege. Through recognizing Ethiopians Christian as the living descendants of biblical monarch, he also qualifies African ritual traditions as theatrical performances *vis-à-vis* Roman Catholic liturgical solemnity. As we will see, the way in which the Portuguese priest projected colonial religious fears and desires onto African ritual paralleled Europeans'

¹³ Ibid., 21-29.

¹⁴ Ibid. 21-23.

ambivalence towards Central African ritual practices in the Old Christian Kingdoms of the Kongo and Angola and, later, in the slave-societies of colonial Brazil.

The Portuguese royal historian Duarte Lopes further situated sub-Saharan Africans within universal Christendom in his 1591 chronicle, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo: And of the Surrounding Countries*.¹⁵ Prior to the 1491 Christian conversion of the Kongolese King Manicongo Nzinga a Kwuku (Dom João I) and members of the local nobility, Lopes claimed that Central Africans honored the powerful Christian monarch Prester John with their annual tribute payments.¹⁶ By the first decade of the sixteenth-century, Christianity was embraced by Kongolese King Mvemba a Nzinga or Afonso I (1509-1543) as official state religion, thus fostering diplomatic, commercial, and missionary exchanges between the Portuguese and Kongolese Crown. During this cross-cultural interaction, the Kongolese Monarch embraced the luxury items brought by Portuguese traders, such that lavishly embroidered European velvets, Indian textiles, and Chinese silks, were woven into exclusive fabric of his African Crown.¹⁷ Besides these

¹⁵ Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade: tratta dalli scritti et ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez portoghese*, Roma: Bartolomeo Grassi, 1591. Textual citations are from the following English translation. Duarte Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo: And of the Surrounding Countries; Drawn Out of the Writings And Discourses of the Portuguese*, (London: John Murray, 1881),

¹⁶ Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo*, 92.

¹⁷ For example, in his 1591 chronicle Lopes writes: “This king was greatly attached to the Portuguese, adopting their dress, and giving up his native attire...the Portuguese, seeing this king valued cloths of gold, tapestries, and suchlike rich stuffs, they brought him them from Portugal.” *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo*, 108-110.

privileged material commodities, King Afonso I also appropriated European-Catholic traditions to forge a hybrid narrative of his divinely-sanctioned Central African power.

Writing a series of letters to his court dating from 1512, King Afonso I inscribed his political defeat of his pagan elder brother Mbanza a Kitima/a Nzinga within a medieval framework of military miracles.¹⁸ According to the Christian King, though his Christian forces were outnumbered by his brother's provincial army, they remembered to invoke Saint James, the powerful divine auxiliary credited with the Portuguese King Afonso Henriques's 1139 defeat of the Muslim Almoravids at the battle of Ourique. The Iberian *Reconquista* saint who appeared to his twelfth-century Portuguese namesake also miraculously intervened to aid the sixteenth-century Kongolese King D. Afonso I, leading a celestial army of five horsemen. Moreover, while these warrior-saints fought on the Kongolese battlefields, the cross of Constantine illuminated in the sky above, confirming their Central African Kingdom's privileged role within a universal Christian genealogy of military victory.¹⁹

These miracles textually recounted by D. Afonso I were also reinforced through his inclusion of visual evidence, specifically, the royal coat-of-arms granted to the

¹⁸ King D. Afonso I's letters are published in António Brásio, ed. *Monumenta missionaria africana* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952), I: 256-273.

¹⁹ “[...]bradamos nós e os nossos por ho bemaventurado apostolo Santiago: loguo milagrosamête vimos todos nossos jmiguos virar as costas e fugir quãto cada hũ mais podya, sem sabermos a causa de seu desbarata, ho qual seguimos. E no alcance grãde numero de jente faleçeo sem algũ dos nossos neste conto entrar. E depois dacabada a victoria, soubemos dos que da peleja escaparã sem desuairo dalgum, que a causa de sua fugida fora quando chamamos ho apostolo Samtiago: ser delles todos vista hũa cruz brãca no çeo e grande numero de jente a cauallo armada, a qual lhes posera tam grande espanto, que ha nã poderã soster, senã meterse loguo em fugida...” Ibid., 257-258.

Kongolese by the Portuguese Crown. The royal emblem that illustrated King D. Afonso's letters is now lost, however, a 1548 Portuguese manuscript frames the Kongolese coat-of-arms within a larger armorial which includes the golden inscription—The King/ Mani of Kongo—specifying its symbolic visual referent (Figure 11).



Figure 11: António Godinho. “Coat of Arms of the Manicongo Kings.” 1528-1541. Ink on parchment, 43 x 32 cm.²⁰

²⁰ Arquivo Nacional de Torre de Tombo (ANTT). “Livro da nobreza e da perfeição das armas dos reis cristãos e nobres linhagens dos reinos e senhorios de Portugal,” MS Casa Forte 164, 1528-1541, fol. 7. PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/20.

Borrowing from European-Catholic heraldry, the coat-of-arms includes a silver cross representing the cross of Constantine as well as four golden scallops symbolizing the Apostle Saint James. The tripartite division of the blazon can be read in terms of vertical hierarchy in which celestial authority—symbolized by the cross and scallops—not only precedes but also crowns terrestrial power. The five flaming swords that dominate the central composition—though D. Afonso claims represent the five wounds of Christ—likewise harken back to his own vision of five flaming swords before his triumph in battle. Kongolese political authority, represented by the five swords crowned by a cross and the scallops of St. James, is further reinforced by the *subordinate* location of the Portuguese coat-of-arms at the bottom-most register. The presence of two broken idols beside the symbolic representation of the Portuguese Crown, while referring to the Kongolese monarch’s successful Christianization of his kingdom, also suggests how D. Afonso I ingested European-Catholicism to politically empower Central Africa. “In word and image,” art historian Cécile Fromont explains, “Afonso of Kongo heralded himself as a Christian prince, *companion* in arms to saint James, and one for whom the cross of Constantine appeared.”²¹ Whereas the Portuguese Crown might have interpreted the Kongolese coat-of-arms as signaling their missionary success, D. Afonso I visually

²¹ Emphasis my own. Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 29.

renewed Central African power through a strategically crafted process of cultural hybridity.

While D. Afonso I's visually proclaimed his political centrality within universal Christendom, the creeping Atlantic slave trade ruptured his peaceful diplomatic alliance with the Portuguese Crown. Writing the Portuguese King João III in 1526, the Kongolese Monarch denounced the illegal slaving activities of Portuguese traders and sea captains who, dissatisfied with the supply of slaves procured as by-products of war, had begun raiding freeborn populations from his kingdom. At the heart of Dom Afonso's critique was the taking of members of the Kongolese elite—"[the] sons of our soil and children of our nobles and vassals and our relatives." In his missive, he lamented that his Kongolese kingdom had been poisoned by a "monstrous greed" for Portuguese merchandise such that not only "thieves and people of low condition" but even "Christian vassals were pushed to seize members of their own families, and of ours, to do business by selling them as captives" in order to feed their addiction to Portuguese commodities.²²

Reiterating his desire that his Christian realm "not be a place for the trade or transport of slaves," Dom Afonso I urged the Portuguese Crown to cease sending

²² Even though Dom Afonso I refrains from naming the "Christian vassal" who sold his Kongolese subjects into slavery, he is likely referring to the provincial lord of Ndongo—Kiluanji kia Ndambi—who rose to power during the early sixteenth-century. With unofficial aid from the Portuguese of São Tomé, beginning in the 1520s the Ndongo extended his central authority over lands that formerly paid tribute to the Kongo, conquering Angolan territories between the coastal plateau of Luanda in the north and the remote interior of Lucala, in the northeast. John Thornton, "Early-Kongo-Portuguese Relations: A New Interpretation," *History in Africa*, vol. 8 (1981): 192-194.

European goods to the Kongo writing that “in this kingdom we need only priests and schoolteachers, and no merchandise, unless it is wine and flour for Mass.”²³

By the latter half of the sixteenth-century, the Kongolese Crown had already lost some territorial sovereignty as the tribute-paying provinces in Angola had been usurped by a local Angolan prince or *soba*, whom Lopes described as “hardly less powerful than the King of Congo, to whom he pays tribute or not, according as he chooses.” Those provinces had also seized control over Luanda, previously controlled by the Kongolese, thus establishing a direct trading relationship with Portuguese merchants on the coast.²⁴ To curtail the Portuguese Crown’s ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Central African Kingdom that had been authorized by the *padroado real*, the Kongolese King Álvaro II sought recognition as the Pope’s direct vassal. Between 1604 and 1608, a royal ambassador named António Manuel traveled through Spain, Portugal, and Rome to fulfill the Kongolese Crown’s politico-religious agenda. Unfortunately, within two days of his arrival in Rome and prior to his appearance before Pope Paul V (1605-1621), António Manuel—commonly referred to in Italian as “o Negrita” fell sick, dying on January 5, 1608. The Pope’s keen interest in the Kongolese ambassador’s visit is evident in the fact that, in addition to financing a lavish funeral for António Manuel—whose body was

²³ Letter from the Manicongo Afonso to King João III, 6 July 1526. Brásio, ed., *Monumenta missionaria africana*, I: 470-71. As cited in English translation in John Thornton, “African Political Ethics and the Slave Trade,” in *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 44-45.

²⁴ Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo: And of the Surrounding Countries*, 31, 32-33..

buried beneath in a monumental tomb within Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome—he also commissioned a commemorative medal depicting an apocryphal encounter between himself and the Kongolese ambassador (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Giorgio Roncetti “Gold Medal Cast on the Occasion of Kongo Ambassador Antonio Manuel’s Visit to Pope Paul V.” 1608. Gold. Diam. 1 ¾ in (3.2 cm). Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren, Belgium.²⁵

The embossed medal visualizes the Kongolese ambassador kneeling before the Pope, who, seated on his papal throne (*sede gestatoria*) beside a cardinal, reaches his hand out in benediction. With his arm crossed reverently over his chest, the bare-headed African nobleman both renders homage to the Pope while receiving the latter’s blessing.

²⁵ Alisa LaGamma et al., *Kongo: Power and Majesty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 113, figure 67. Catalogue number HO.1951.26.1. Another copy of this commemorative medal in bronze from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Medaglie papali, nn. 1435, 1436 is reproduced in Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 159, Figure 64. A bibliographic summary concerning the bronze medal and António Manuel’s visit to Rome is discussed in Ferrer and Nocca, “*Coisas do outro mundo*,” 111-114.

The religious and geopolitical significance of the imagined cross-cultural exchange is further testified by the medal's Latin inscription, which reads: "ET CONGU ADNOSCIT PASTORE SUU" (Kongo receives its shepherd).

The textual and visual content of the commemorative medal simultaneously performs the Pope's spiritual authority over the African ambassador while asserting the Kongo's specific position within the history of global Christendom.²⁶ By envisioning the fictive reception of António Manuel within the spiritual center of global Catholicism—the papal court in Rome—the medal materially concretizes European interest in the African ambassador's visit through a symbolic visual syntax that clearly transmitted Catholic power across cultural and religious divides. Further reflecting the Pope's personal investment in memorializing the African ambassador's visit is the fact that he commissioned Francesco Caporale to produce a portrait bust based on António Manuel's death mask to decorate his tomb (Figure 13).²⁷

²⁶ For a discussion of António Manuel's embassy in Rome and an analysis of his commemorative medal and funerary bust, see Kate Lowe, "Representing Africa: Ambassadors and Princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal, 1402-1608," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Ser. 17 (2007): 101-128. For an overview of four diplomatic missions to Rome in the early 16th century and their visualization in the Vatican's *Sala Regia* see Opher Mansour, "Picturing Global Conversion: Art and Diplomacy at the Court of Paul V (1605-1621)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 525-559 and specifically 539-545 on the Roman visit of António Manuel.

²⁷ For an analysis of the symbolic and political importance of António Manuel's visit to Rome and its memorialization in a series of European prints depicting his 1608 funerary monument see: Luis Martínez Ferrer and Marco Nocca, "*Coisas do outro mundo*": *a missão em Roma de António Manuel, Príncipe de N'Funta, conhecido por "o Negrita" (1604-1608), na Roma de Paulo V: Luanda, exposição documental* (Città del Vaticano: Urbaniana University Press, 2003), 156-164.



Figure 13: Francesco Caporale, “Funerary bust of Antonio Manuel Marchio ne VUNDA, also known as Antonio Nigrita,” 1629. Polychrome marble. Santa Maria Maggiore Baptistery, Rome.²⁸

Rather than a stereotypical or generic representation of an African person, the polychrome marble bust pictured below evidences the Italian sculptor’s effort to faithfully portray the Kongolese ambassador’s physical features and distinctive regalia. While perhaps inferred in the papal medal, the 1629 funerary bust clearly pictures the *nkutu* net exclusive to the Kongolese nobility. Interestingly, Caporal also depicts Antonio wearing a quiver of arrows, a figuration that reflects European perceptions of African “exoticism” rather than historical verisimilitude.

A late seventeenth-century illustration from the Italian Capuchin missionary Antonio Cavazzi’s chronicle also visualizes how the Kongolese King embraced European

²⁸ Photograph, Mario Carrieri, Milan/ The Menil Foundation. Reproduced in Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, Plate 30.

symbols and imported luxury fabrics to perform his political and cultural power before locals and foreigners (Figure 14).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 14: Frederico Agnelli, “The King of Kongo granting an audience to Portuguese missionaries” in Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, *Istorica Descrittione de’ Tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola*, (Milan: Stampe Dell’Agnelli, 1690), plate facing p. 269.²⁹

The Italian woodcut depicts the Kongolese King meeting Capuchin missionaries in his outdoor portable throne. The sovereign’s political power is underscored by the figuration of royal symbols legible to European audiences including a scepter, crown, and

²⁹ Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Identification Number: ark:/12148/btv1b2300088x.

canopied throne covered in velvet fabrics or perhaps Indian carpets.³⁰ In addition to the royal regalia that differentiates him from his bare-chested servants, the King's authority is reflected by his hierarchical positioning within the central space of the composition.³¹ He stands erectly, lording above the bowed heads of the Portuguese friars. The historical significance of this image of Central African sovereignty cannot be understated. Not only does the Kongolese King visually absorb—into the space of his court—the Portuguese missionaries but, in doing so, he directly inverts the European-Catholic hierarchy that subordinates the Central African royal ambassador pictured in the papal medallion.

These representations of Kongolese Christian elites bear witness to the co-existence of competing perceptions of African Christianity, one that visually entangled producers and consumers in a mimetic web of fear and desire. The papal medal, for example, created a mythical encounter to represent the Kongolese royal ambassador as a noble Christian vassal who submits to, and is embraced by, the global authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, European desires were also projected onto Antonio Manuel's posthumous portrait through the marked presence, on his funerary bust, of a quiver of arrows that visually figured Africans' exotic difference. Like Padre Álvares' early sixteenth-century account of sun-Saharan African Christianity, these seventeenth-

³⁰ The King's portable throne of three steps was "covered with Indian carpets, and thereon are placed a table and chair of crimson velvet, the latter being studded with bosses of gold." Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo: And of the Surrounding Countries*, 109-110.

³¹ These bare-chested attendants were certainly a subordinate class and may have the King's slaves. "The poorer sort and common people...[and] slaves...only wear garments from the waist downwards, the rest of the body being entirely naked." *Ibid.*, 109.

century artworks testify to how Europeans' religious encounters with Central Africans were filtered through the colonizing prism of marking cultural difference. This next section examines how the intertwined histories of Portuguese colonialism and slavery in Brazil and Central Africa shaped how black religiosity was viewed on both sides of the Portuguese Atlantic.

Black Ritual Practices in "New Guinea"

The sixteenth-century Portuguese overseas expansion that fueled trans-Atlantic slavery and marked of images and texts that circulated across the Iberian and Mediterranean Atlantic world also colored European perceptions of black religiosity in seventeenth-century Brazil. Rather than an interlude in the Portuguese colony's cultural development, the Dutch occupation (1630-1654) of Brazil intimately shaped how European color prejudices were articulated through textual and pictorial images. Luso-Brazilian elites' critiques of popular ritual traditions became particularly intense in the northeastern sugar-cane regions of Bahia and Pernambuco where African-descended persons outnumbered Europeans and indigenous natives, a demographic disparity voiced by a Portuguese colonist who called Brazil a "New Guinea."³²

³² In his treatise on the history of Brazil written in the form of a dialogue, a Portuguese New Christian planter named Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão (1555-1618), wrote: "Nêste Brasil, diz Brandonio, se há criado um novo Guiné com a grande multidão de escravos vindos de lá que nêles se acham, em tanto que em algumas capitãncias há mas dêles que dos naturais da terra, e todos os homens que nêles vivem têm metida quase tôda a sua fortuna em semelhante mercadoria" ("In this Brazil, says Brandonio, there has been created a new Guinea given the great multitude of slaves coming from there that are herein found, such that in some captaincies there are more of them [slaves] than natives of the land [indians], and all the persons

In a 1638 letter to Portuguese Inquisitors in Lisbon, the Bishop of Brazil, Pedro da Silva de Sampaio (1572-1649), enumerated the threats posed by Central Africans in the colony. He claimed that in Bahia many slaves “from Angola or proceeding from there” were *feiticeiros* (witches/sorcerers) who killed “with great facility, using poison or other means” that were revered by other blacks as “exceptional and courageous” because of these violent feats. Though these black ritual practices were hidden from the bishop’s purview, he asserted that it was rumored that these persons “made pacts with the Devil.” Moreover, the bishop also voiced his horror at seeing the streets of Brazil filled with black slaves who “walked around naked with only a loincloth” disturbing public morality.

The symbolic imposition of his religious authority over black bodies that move “around naked” displaying their powerful masculinity speaks volumes about European projections onto African culture and peoples.³³ Rather than rebuking the moral negligence of white Christian masters who were paternally obligated to clothe their

that live there have invested almost all of their fortunes in this trade [in slaves].” *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil* [1618] (Recife: Imprensa Universitária, 1966), 44.

³³ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Cadernos do Promotor, No. 18, Livro 281, ff. 299v. “[...]E mais sendo materia de negros de Angola, ou que dela procederao, de que ha muitos supersticiozos nestas partes, e lhes chamao feitiseiros, e matam com pesonhao ou outro modo, a outros negros e negras com grande facilidade, e se me nao engango tambem se tem por mais grandeizos e alenantados, quantos mais tem mortos, e em verdade que hao ouvido que alguns tratem com o diabo, mas tambem nao affirmo q suas culpas se possam coalhar para irem a V.S. em forma probandi nem elles poderao ir commodamente prezos q sao cativos e andao nus com hum panno diante.”

slaves' bodies, the bishop's colonial gaze is fixed on seeing prurience in black men. By doing so, he imputes that Luso-Brazilian control of female reproduction (black and white) that preserved slavery were threatened by blacks' sexualized ritual transgressions. Years earlier, the Portuguese Bishop of Kongo and Angola similar fears in a letter to the Portuguese King in which he stated that Central Africans' "barbarism is so great they cannot be cured."³⁴

Whereas Portuguese elites across the Atlantic expressed anxieties about Central Africans' religious integration within the colonial socio-economic order, European travelers to Dutch-occupied Brazil tended to highlight the theatricality of African slaves' ritual ceremonies without acknowledging their potential to threaten Portuguese Catholic hierarches. Following his appointment by the Dutch West India Company as the governor-general of Brazil, in 1636 Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen (1604-1676) led a military and scientific expedition to expand Dutch colonial territories from northeastern Pernambuco. Besides mercenary soldiers, the European enterprise also included naturalists, botanists, architects, and two celebrated Dutch artists: Albert Eckhout (c.1610–1665), renowned for his portrait and still-life paintings, and Frans Post (1612-1680), a landscape painter who also produced engravings, drawings, and

³⁴ ANTT, Corpo Chronológico, Parte I, Maço 115, No. 136. Carta de Frei Manuel Baptista, Obispo do Congo e Angola dando conta a Rey estara genteo daquela terra incapaz de se esperar servissem a Deus a ao mesmo Sr. El Rey do Congo... 10 July 1612. Cited in James Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship and Relation in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 249.

cartographic illustrations. In addition to their historical significance as the earliest ethnographic images of colonial Brazil, Post and Eckhout's numerous paintings, engravings, and gouaches bear witness to the way in which white Europeans visualized African-descended populations' ritual performances as exotic artifacts, wholly divorced from their religious meanings (Figure 15).³⁵



Figure 15: Frans Post, “A Village in Brazil,” c.1645-80. Oil on panel, 51 x 59 cm. London, Queen’s Boudoir, Kew Palace.

³⁵ Seventeenth-century Dutch artists’ visual images of Brazil were popularly collected by European elites including Christian IV, the King of Denmark-Norway, Frederick William, The Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, and the “Sun King,” Louis XIV of Bourbon France. In 1679, Prince Nassau presented King Louis XIV with eight paintings of Brazilian landscapes authored by Post. For a general overview of the artistic production of these two Dutch painters, see: Rebecca Parker Brienen, “Albert Eckhout and Frans Post: Two Dutch Artists in Colonial Brazil,” in *Brazil Body and Soul* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2001), 62-74.

In the painting above, Post portrays with vivid ethnographic detail the landscape of a rural village in northeastern Brazil as well and its resident indigenous and African-descended peoples. The image's center and foreground display indigenous and African-descended persons bartering goods, playing musical instruments, and dancing in front a group of wooden buildings with thatched roofs. In the left-hand corner, beneath a modest residential dwelling, perhaps the slaves' quarters or *senzala*, two women of African-descent dressed in long skirts and blouses surround a shirtless black man with a white wrapper draped around his lower torso. One woman points to the right, as if giving him directions. On a hilly outcrop in the shade, several nude persons observe indigenous men wearing vivid vermilion-colored fabric or dyed animal pelts on their backs dance energetically while holding up spears and arrows. Nearby, an indigenous woman clothed in a billowing white shift greets a naked indigenous woman.

Given that Europeans conceptually linked nudity with lack of civility and, thus, with an imputed moral inferiority (sexual, cultural, and religious), the fact that many Amerindians are not clothed or "covered in Christianity" implies their non-residential status within the plantation setting and perhaps their itinerant lifestyle to avoid Portuguese colonial power. This reading is further reinforced by the painting's foreground representation of Afro-descended males dressed in white wrappers sustained by a band of red taffeta and women covered in fabrics and loose white blouses. Black men, women, and children moving to the beats of African drums (*atabaques*), dance

together, watched by a dressed indigenous couple. One imagines the joyful exchanges of the musicians and dancers as they dance, sing, clap, and shout in a traditional call-and-response fashion to the drumbeats. While generically titled “A Village in Brazil,” Post’s painting visualizes how indigenous and African peoples that labored or visited sugarcane plantations in northeastern Brazil not only sustained the colony’s economy but also influenced the cultural development of ritual practices that powerfully embraced indigenous, African, and European symbolic elements.

Ethnographic images produced by Zacharias Wagener, a German mercenary who worked for the Dutch West India Company in Recife between 1634 and 1641, also bears witness to the how Central African ritual tradition visually marked the landscape of northeastern Brazil. Even though he lacked formal training as an artist, Wagener’s unpublished manuscript, *Thier Buch* [The Book of Animals], includes watercolor images depicting Brazilian flora, fauna, as well as “human types” destined for European consumption.³⁶ Given that many of Wagener’s illustrations are modeled after Post and Eckhout, that one image lacks artistic precedent suggests he may have personally witnessed and sketched the scene *in situ* on a northeastern sugarcane plantation (Figure 16).

³⁶ Wagener first arrived in Recife in 1634 as a mercenary for the Dutch West India Company, but quickly ascended the colony’s political hierarchy to serve, in 1637, as the notary and butler of the Dutch Governor-General of Brazil, Johan Maurits de Naussau-Siegen.



Figure 16:- Zacharias Wagener, “Negertanz” [Blacks’ Dance], ca. 1641. Watercolor illustration in *Thierbuch*, CA226A/fol.105. Dresden, Staatliche Sammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett.³⁷

In an open clearing framed by hills, tropical trees, and a large residential building—perhaps the *casa-grande* [master’s house]—a dozen blacks dance, drink, and play musical instruments. Several dancers moving in a counter-clockwise position circle a light-skinned female whose breasts are exposed. The woman—perhaps a mulatta or *cafuzo* (indigenous-African mixed-race person)—appears to be in a state of ecstatic trance. With her breasts exposed, the woman tilts her head back, revealing the whites of her eyes. Facing the captivated woman with her arms lifted, a dark-skinned man wearing

³⁷ “Divination Ceremony and Dance, Brazil, as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite and sponsored by the Virginia Fondation for the Humanities.” Image Reference: NWO321. Image Source: Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares., eds. *Dutch Brazil, Vol. 2- The “Thierburch” and “Autobiography” of Zacharias Wagener*; D.H. Treece and R. Trewinnard, English translators (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Index, 1997), 193, plate 105.

only a simple white wrapper around his waist dances energetically. Jumping in the air with his arms extended, he creates a dusty whirlwind that encircles the entranced woman in dark brown shadow. As if breaking into the ring of dancers, an androgynous youth runs while gripping a circular object, perhaps a metal tiara destined for the light-skinned female whose spatial location parallels the naked person's perpendicular movement.

Another man, wearing white trousers with his legs akimbo, positions a feathered headdress on his head with red, blue, and yellow plumes. Rather than mere ornamentation, the man's feathered headdress communicates his ritual power in Central African terms. Since they associated spiritual forces with birds and other flying creature, Central African ritual specialists adorned the heads of humans and sculpted images—the sacred *minkisi*—with crests of plumes to symbolize their links to the realm of the spirits.³⁸ The man's feathered crown thus signals his privileged status as a spirit medium who, like the possessed woman, channeled the power of the spirits. Similarly, the man's white trousers and the woman's red skirt carries ritual significance since in Central African cosmology red and white were colors symbolically linked to binaries of life, death, and the power of mediation. As such, the man and woman's colorful adornments suggest their elevated authority as ritual specialists who, during dancing and drumming

³⁸ On the visual symbolism of colors, feathers, and medicinal packets inserted within the *minkisi* to denote their specific ritual power, see: Wyatt MacGaffey, "Complexity, Astonishment and Power: The Visual Vocabulary of Kongo *minkisi*," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14, no. 2 (1988): 188-2013.

ceremonies called *xangô* in Recife, invoked the spirits of their deceased ancestors to divine and to cure.³⁹

The ceremony's religious symbolism is also suggested by its setting in an open circular enclosure like the Central African *nkongolo*, a designated space for ritual gatherings.⁴⁰ To the left of the circle of dancers three male musicians seated on the trunk of a palm tree play *atabaques* [large cylindrical drums] and a *canzá* or *reco-reco* [notched scraper]. Near the musicians, another man stands by a palm tree drinks from a gourd-like vessel. He is likely imbibing a hallucinogenic beverage made from fermented corn (*alúa*) or else a form of sugarcane alcohol (*cachaça* or *garapa*) both of which were ritually consumed by African and indigenous peoples in colonial Brazil.⁴¹ The man's spatial location beneath a dominating palm tree and beside a large clay container also communicates symbolic ritual meaning.⁴² Palm trees and their byproducts (fruit, oil, and wine) formed part of Central African rituals as wine made from palm sap was ritually

³⁹ The comparative symbolism between Wagener's illustration and African ritual ceremonies such as *calundus* referred to in Inquisition trials from Lisbon are explored in a recent article by historian James Sweet. See the author's "Reimagining the African-Atlantic Archive: Method, Concept, Epistemology, Ontology," *The Journal of African History* 55 (2014): 147-59.

⁴⁰ Wyatt MacGaffey, "Constructing a Kongo Identity: Scholarship and Mythopoesis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 1 (2016): 161.

⁴¹ Ricardo Luiz de Souza, "Cachaça, vinho, cerveja: da Colônia ao século XX," *Estudos Históricos* no. 33 (2004): 61.

⁴² Central Africans also ritually invoked fig trees called *nsanda* or *mulemba* as venerated as territorial deities. Portuguese elites in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Angola including the Governor of Luanda Francisco de Tavora (1669-1679) and the Bishop of Angola Manuel a Santa Catharina (1720-1731), attempted to eliminate Central Africans' public cults to these living "idols" by having these sacred trees cut down. Kalle Kananoja, "Central African Identities and Religiosity in Colonial Minas Gerais," PhD Dissertation in History (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University, 2012), 139-140.

consumed, offered to sacred images called *minkisi* (*nkisi* in the singular), used to anoint the graves of the deceased ancestors, and also mixed with medicinal powders. During his captivity in the interior of Portuguese Angola, the English traveler Andrew Battel (ca. 1589-1614) described how the “Gagas” [Imbagala] “delight in no country, but where there is great store of Palmars, or groves of palms” from which they can make oil and wine, noting that one cut palm-tree, after ten days, and produce “two quarts of wine a day for the space of six and twenty days, and then it drieth up.”⁴³

Besides Central African symbolism, Wagener’s illustration contains narrative elements which suggest that black participants not only comprehended the ceremony’s ritual meanings, but also zealously protected it from potentially hostile observers. For example, two topless women wearing white skirts and turbans, one seated in the foreground register of the painting and another standing with an infant in her arms, both point with their index fingers towards the direction of the plantation-house. Could they be alerting the group to the arrival of an unidentified person, possibly the owner of the sugar-mill, who might have comprehended the subversive potential of the blacks’ dancing and drinking ritual?

The likelihood that Wagener’s watercolor illustration portrays a Central African healing ceremony, however, is not only suggested by the figuration of culturally symbolic

⁴³ Andrew Battel, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh, In Angola And the Adjoining Regions* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1901), 30-35.

elements—African musical instruments such as drums and gourds, a drum circle with feathered dancers—but likewise supported by demographic evidence on Brazilian slavery. By the end of the sixteenth-century Africans who labored on the sugarcane plantations in Pernambuco likely comprised one third of the Captaincy’s total population.⁴⁴ The Jesuit priest Antônio Vieira pronounced evocatively in 1648 that “without blacks there would be no Pernambuco, and without Angola there would be no blacks.”⁴⁵

Wagener’s textual description, however, reveals his misapprehension of the black gathering’s ritual significance. Explaining his illustration to European audiences unfamiliar with the nature of slavery in seventeenth-century Brazil, Wagener writes:

When the slaves have performed their very arduous tasks for the whole week they are allowed to do as they please on Sunday. Usually they gather in certain places and, to the sound of pipes and drums, spend the entire day in disorderly dancing among themselves, men and women, children and old people, amidst continual drinking of a very sweet beverage called *Grape* [ie: *garapa*]: they spend all the holy day dancing thus without stopping, frequently to the point where they no longer recognize each other, so dusty and drunk have they become.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 65.

⁴⁵ Antônio Vieira, Hernâni Cidade, and Antônio Sérgio, *Padre Antônio Vieira: Obras escolhidas, Vol. 1 Cartas (1)* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1951), 126. “[...]Todo o debate agora é sobre Angola, e é materia em que não hão de ceder, porque sem negros não há Pernambuco, e sem Angola não há negros, e como nós temos o comércio do sertão, ainda que eles tenham a cidade de Luanda, temem que, se nós tivermos outros portos, lhes divertamos [tiremos] por eles tudo.” August 12, 1648 letter to the Marques of Nisa, Dom Vasco Luís da Gama.

⁴⁶ Paul Emil Ricgter, ed. “Zacharias Wagner,” in *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden*, (Dresen: A Huhle, 1888), 86. Cited in Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 14.

By noting that Brazilian slaves were permitted to rest and engage in their own merry-making only on Sundays and religious holidays, Wagener suggests how white paternalism served to maintain their dominant socio-economic position within the colony's slave-based racial hierarchy. Significantly, his breathless narrative of the "all day" dancing and drinking on the "holy day" reveals the Church's displacement as there is no mention of Sunday Mass. However, Wagener's text functions to discursively control the slaves' gathering into innocent entertainments—a facile interpretation reflected by the image's secular title, "Negertanz" ["Blacks' Dance"]. As a German traveler in Pernambuco, Wagener may have been ignorant of the fact that Afro-descended populations' dancing to drum beats while ingesting an alcoholic beverage made of sugar-cane [*garapa*] formed part of traditional African religious ceremonies. Like their enslaved counterparts in Brazil, Central African populations engaged in ritual performances involving singing, dancing, drinking, and drumming to communicate with deceased ancestors and spirit mediums (Figure 17).



Figure 17: Frederico Agnelli, “Ritual Dance in the Kongo” engraving in Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, *Istorica Descrittione de’ Tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola* (Milan: Stampe Dell’Agnelli, 1690), plate facing page 158.

The Italian Capuchin missionary Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo, who resided in Angola between 1654 and 1667, described how Central African populations who converted to Christianity continued to invoke the spirits of deceased ancestors to provide them with cures and even to offer them strategic political and military advice.⁴⁷ Cavazzi explained that Angolan ritual specialists known as the *xingila* induced spirit possession by singing, dancing, clapping, and drumming but even wild animals, such as elephants, snakes, leopards, and serpents, could be inhabited by the souls of deceased ancestors.

⁴⁷ For example, Cavazzi narrates how in 1657, an Imbangala ruler in Angola conferred with with the spirit of his deceased brother before making a peace treaty with the Portuguese. MSS Araldi, Cavazzi, “Missione evangelica,” vol. A, bk. 2, 85, 86-69. Cited in John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 244.



Figure 18: Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi, “Scenes of Magic-1, Priest speaking to the lion / 2, Spell of the priest / 3, belt with sacred relics/objects / 4, Iron handles / 5, Two horn-shaped amulets filled with ointment, ca. 1665-1668. Watercolor illustration.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Image Source: “A Spiritual Practitioner and His Paraphernalia, Angola, 1650s-1660s,” as shown on www.slaveryimages.org, compiled by Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite and sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities. Citation: Ezio Bassani, ed., *Un Cappuccino nell’Africa nera del seicento: I disegni dei Manoscritti Araldi del Padre Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo*, (Milan: Quaderni Poro, no. 4, 1987), plate 33.

Interestingly, the late sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicler Duarte Lopes claimed that Kongolese populations believed rogue lions that killed black people did not bother white men.⁴⁹ Significantly, Cavazzi claimed that after the 1663 death of the Angolan queen Njinga, local populations from Matamba called for him to exorcise rogue leopards that were wreaking havoc in the region as they believed they had been possessed by the vengeful spirit of their deceased ruler.⁵⁰ In one late seventeenth-century illustration, Cavazzi expresses his own ambivalence towards the power of central African priests who performed ritual ceremonies involving verbal incantations, sacred objects, and even wild animals (Figure 18). Through its combination of textual and visual information, the watercolor image above suggests an ambiguous reciprocity between Christian and Central Africans ritual power. For instance, the watercolor's title—"scenes of magic"—evokes a multiplicity of time/space contexts beyond the *singular* episode Cavazzi visualizes. Could he be implicating himself in another dual or parallel "scene" beyond his own pictorial framing? The verbal descriptor—"relics/objects"—suggests the merging of religious traditions also limned by a 1624 Kikongo-Portuguese catechism in which the term "mkinsi" referring to Central African material repositories of spirits/deities is translated as "holy" and "saintly" in Portuguese.⁵¹ Seventeenth-century

⁴⁹ Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo*, 49.

⁵⁰ MSS Araldi, Cavazzi, "Missione evangelica," vol. A, bk. 2, 223-3. *Ibid.*, 245.

⁵¹ Marcos Jorge, François Bontinck, D. Ndembe Nsasi, and Matheus Cardoso, *Le catéchisme kikongo de 1624* (Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer, Classe des sciences morales et politiques, 1978), 264.

Catholic missionaries also lamented Central Africans' denial of Christianity's claim to religious exclusivity. For example, when the Capuchin priest Andrea da Pavia rebuked Kongolese locals for consulting with traditional healers and diviners, they responded by affirming that they "believed in God and everything that was taught to them...[and] they also believed in their [own indigenous] ceremonies."⁵² Catholic missionaries consistently demonized Central African ritual specialists as *feiticeiros* (sorcerers/witches) who communicated with the devil through idols—the material repositories of sacred power known as *minkisi*—as well as through their own embodied power. For example, one Sicilian missionary explained in 1701 that the *ngamba ngombo* (Central African high priests) were not merely interlocutors with "the idols" but rather spiritual mediums who officiated diabolical ceremonies in which participants "invoked the Devil to enter the head of that witch (*fatuceiro*)" so that the Devil "speaking through the mouth of that witch" provide knowledge for treating sickness and other afflictions.⁵³

Secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Brazil not only condemned the "diabolical" rituals of free and enslaved black majorities but also invoked power of the

⁵² Cited in John Thornton, "Perspectives on African Christianity," in Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford, eds., *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 180.

⁵³ Luca da Caltanissetta, "Relatione della missione fatta nel regno di Congo per il padre Fra Luca da Caltanissetta per lo spatio di anni undici in circa sino all fine del 1701," in *Il Congo agli inizi del settecento nella relazione di P. Luca da Caltanissetta* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1972), 254-255, 259-60. Cited in Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 142.

Holy Office of the Inquisition in Lisbon to police them.⁵⁴ Despite their being filtered through the coercive violence and cultural prisms of Portuguese Inquisitors, these trials reveal the popular embrace of African beliefs and practices by heterogeneous colonial populations including free and enslaved blacks, wealthy Portuguese colonist, and even Catholic priests. By testifying to the broad reception of Central African ritual practices, Inquisition proceedings shed light on how religious transformations across the Luso-African Atlantic informed social relations of power under slavery and colonial rule in Portuguese Brazil.

During the 1680s, a wealthy Portuguese property-holder from the Bahian *sertão* [interior backlands] sent a report to the Portuguese Inquisitors in Lisbon in which he accused indigenous and African-descended peoples of practicing *feitiçaria* [witchcraft/sorcery].⁵⁵ He noted that an Indian woman named Lyria, reputed to be a powerful healer, used blood sacrifices and herbal baths served to exorcise a *caboclinho* [indigenous spirit] from the bodies of sick slaves. Moreover, the black male slaves of a local priest also treated sick slaves by officiated healing-diving ceremonies where,

⁵⁴ In contrast with the Spanish American colonies of Mexico and Peru, there was no local Inquisition in Brazil but rather all investigations into religious heterodoxy such as witchcraft and judaism were prosecuted by Lisbon's Holy Office of the Inquisition. On the economic and political relationships among Portuguese Inquisitors and colonial elites in northeastern Brazil see: James E. Wadsworth, *Agents of Orthodoxy: Honor, Status, and the Inquisition in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), 2017.

⁵⁵ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno do Promotor, No. 67, Livro 261, ff. 311r-320v. The Inquisitors decided to pursue the investigation in June of 1688, following two reports dating from 1686 and 1687 sent from Bahia. Notwithstanding the inclusion of witness depositions from Brazil which date between March and July 1694, whether or not the persons accused of witchcraft were prosecuted or punished is unknown as the Lisbon proceedings are incomplete.

dressed in animal skins, playing a *canzá* gourd, and shaking a basin filled with water, they uncovered the sources and cures for disease.⁵⁶

Enslaved African women in Bahia also performed ritual healings in which they channeled the power of their deceased ancestors by singing in “the language of Angola,” dancing to the music of *canzâs* [gourds], covering their bodies in animal pelts, and greasing their faces with *tanhá* [a red pigment from soil or clay]. One Portuguese man even hosted *calundus* in his centrally-located home near the parish church and charged clients for the cures proffered by his slave Luzia, reputed to be a powerful *curandeira* [ritual healer]. During her healing ceremonies, Luzia jumped in the air, emitting a violent wind that snuffed out the candles inside the house and even shut the doors. One enslaved woman suffering from blindness stated that when the “*negra* [Luzia] made those earthquakes she felt something seize her wrist, whose touch did not feel like that of a living thing.” They also heard a “tingling like that of castanets, and they felt that something had fallen with a thump on the table in the middle of the house, and then they heard a voice say, ‘I am gangahuzia.’”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ibid., 316v. For a detailed analysis of Central African divination rituals in colonial Brazil see Ibid., 119-137; and also James Sweet, “‘Not a Thing for White Men to See’: Central African Divination in Seventeenth-Century Brazil,” in *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil During the Era of Slavery* (Amherst: Humanity Books, 2004), 139-148.

⁵⁷ “[...] e todas as pessoas q dentro da dita caza estavam para se curar, ouvião vir pelo cume da caza, hú zonido a maneira de casquaeis, e sintiãõ cahir húa couza, q dava huá pancada em húa meza, q no meo da dita caza estava, e logo ouviãõ húa voz q dizia eu sou *gangahuzia*...q quando a negra fazia aquelles terremotos sentia húa couza pegarlhe no pulso da mão, cujo tato lhe não parecia ser de couza vivente.” Ibid., 319r-319v. Emphasis my own. The Kimbundu term “*nganga*” is commonly written in Portuguese as *ganga*.

The fact that Luzia declared herself to be a *nganga wisa* “priest of power” suggests her Central African lineage as spirit-mediums which, in the Kingdoms of Angola, were collectively referred to as *nganga ngombo*.⁵⁸ The *nganga* was a respected spirit-medium, whose clients trusted that s/he could readily access the knowledge and power of the ancestors to heal illnesses. Like the indigenous and enslaved Africans from the Bahian *sertão* referenced above, free blacks were also accused of practicing *feitiços* [sorcery/witchcraft]. According to a 1694 Inquisition trial, a free black man named João from the Bahian Recôncavo performed ritual-divination ceremonies in which he “walked on one foot, throwing the other one violently over his shoulder” and offered cures by invoking the spirits of his deceased children and speaking “in a raspy voice, like something from another world.”⁵⁹ Whereas historian James Sweet has focused on the ritual transference of Central African cosmology across the Luso-African Diaspora, the black ceremonies collectively referred to as *calundús* in Brazil formed part of a broader history of religious hybridity that European, indigenous, and African cosmologies. Just as sixteenth-century Kongolese Monarchs that effectively de-centered Portuguese Catholic hegemony without disavowing Christianity, black ritual performances were empowered through the strategic absorption of external cultural and religious elements.

⁵⁸ Interestingly, a 1697 Kimbundu grammar by a Spanish Jesuit missionary translates “*nganga*” as priest. Pedro Dias, *Arte da lingua de Angola*, (Lisboa: Miguel Deslandes, 1697), f. 5. The *nganga wisa* was a specific type of Central African ritual healer whose name literally means “priest of power.” Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 155.

⁵⁹ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Cadernos do Promotor, No. 85, Livro 278, ff. 123-49. Cited in Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 142.

Catholic missionaries condemned the idolatrous practices of Central African populations in the Kongo and Angola but contemporary elites in Brazil bolstered the spiritual authority of black ritual healers known as *calunduzeiros* by participating in their slaves' ritual healing ceremonies. For example, the Bahian master of *nganga* Luzia promoted his slave's ritual authority by hosting her ritual-healing ceremonies in his home. Similarly, medical and religious authorities in late seventeenth-century Brazil theoretically condoned the heterodox practices of black *calunduzeiros* while also acknowledging their efficiency to address the challenges of slavery. Writing in 1677, Portuguese physician Simão Pinheiro de Morão criticized doctors and surgeons in the captaincy of Pernambuco who, when faced with unknown illnesses, "make recourse to the arts of the devil before those of nature" by sending their sick patients to black *calunduzeiros*. In addition, Morão criticized Catholic clergymen, those "who, by the precepts of God and the Church should impede these abuses, [also] fall into them," by consulting with black *feiticeiros* [sorcerers], and ordering them to "perform the miracle, or have the Devil do it."⁶⁰ Brazilian elites thus asserted that black ritual specialists threatened not only the secular authority of medical practitioners but also the spiritual authority of the Church. By describing how diverse colonial populations in Brazil made

⁶⁰ "[...] recorrem logo aos feiticeiros valendo-se das artes do demônio antes que das da natureza...até mesmo os párocos, que por preceito de Deus e da Igreja deveriam atalhar estes abusos, caem neles...dizendo: *agase el milagro, e agalo el Diablo*." Simão Pinheiro Morão, *Queixas repetidas em ecos dos arrecifes de Pernambuco contra os abusos médicos que nas suas capitánias se observam tanto em dano das vidas de seus habitantes* [1677] (Lisbon: Junta de investigações do Ultramar, 1965), 14-15.

recourse to black healing-divination ceremonies, Morão suggests that these rituals not only threatened religious orthodoxy but also the social politics and racial relations of Brazilian slavery.

The satirical prose of Gregório de Mattos (1636- 1696), known by the evocative epithet—“A Boca do Inferno” [Hell’s Mouth]—also refers to moral and political threat posed by the popular embrace of rituals officiated by black “masters” in seventeenth-century Brazil. In a series of verses detailing the participation of heterogeneous social groups within black *calundus*, Mattos suggests how these ritual practices symbolically inverted the racial hierarchies of Catholicism and Brazilian slavery.

“Of those *quilombos*/ with peerless masters/ of *calundús* and witchcraft/
whose nightly teaching/ sare faithfully attended/ by a thousand ladies/ and
many bearded ones/ pretending to be Narcissus./ They claim to be seeking
Fortune;/ never has greater delirium be seen!/ I, who cannot entertain
them,/ listen and watch, with my mouth shut./ What I know is that in those
dances/ Satan is an active partner,/ only that priestly master/ could teach
such ecstasies.”⁶¹

Rather than an invocation of Brazil’s fugitive-slave settlements commonly referred to as *quilombos*, Mattos’ use of the term may denote the “gathering of blacks”

⁶¹ The Portuguese original reads: “Que de quilombos que tenho/ com mestres superlativos/ nos quais se ensinam de noite/ os calundus, e feitiços,/ com devoção os freqüentam/ mil sujeitos femininos,/ e tambem muitos barbados/ que se prezam de narcisos/ Ventura dizem, que buscam; /não se viu maior delírio! /eu, que os ouço, vejo, e calo / por não poder diverti-los. / O que sei, é, que em tais danças/ Satanás anda metido,/ e que só tal padre-mestre / pode ensinar tais delírios.” A slightly different English translation can be found in Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Towards a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 134-135.

and/or the outdoor setting where the *calundus* took place.⁶² Moreover, Mattos highlights how black ritual ceremonies attracted the colony's socially heterogeneous populations, including men of Portuguese ancestry [bearded ones] seeking to indulge their sensual desires. By explicitly linking nocturnal *calundus* to diabolical practices involving "peerless masters," Mattos underscores the subversive potential of ritual ceremonies organized by populations of African-descent. Besides officiating *calundus* which attracted the colony's multi-ethnic populations, black ritual specialists who situated themselves as the powerful patrons of white clients also posed an oppositional threat to Portuguese Catholicism by inverting its spiritual and racial hierarchies.

The Brazilian-born writer Nuno Marques Pereira (ca. 1652-1728) likewise criticized blacks' dancing and drumming ceremonies in his popular moralizing treatise, *Compendio narrativo do peregrino da América* [Narrative Compendium of the American Pilgrim], first published in Lisbon in 1728.⁶³ Traveling from the Bahian *sertão* toward the bustling gold and diamond-mining region of Minas Gerais, Pereira stopped to rest in the

⁶² The English translation of Bastide's classic 1960 study of African religions in Brazil includes the following asterisk footnote: "[Here the word *quilombo* denotes a gathering of blacks, not a settlement of run-away Negroes." Ibid., 134. Most recently, the ethnomusicologist Jonathan Grasse argues that Mattos' use of *quilombo* refers, not to the social body (Bastide's "gathering of blacks"), but to the literal space such as "a forest clearing" where the rituals occurred. "Calundu's Winds of Divination: Music and Black Religiosity in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais, Brazil," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2017): 46.

⁶³ Nuno Marques Pereira, *Compendio narrativo do Peregrino da America em que se tratam varios discursos, espirituales, e moraes, com muitas aduerrencias, e documentos contra abusos, que se achão introduzidos pela malicia diabolica no estado do Brasil*, (Lisboa: Na officina de Manoel Fernandes da Costa), 1728. The wide circulation of Pereira's treatise is reflected by the fact that it was reprinted in 1731, followed by three more editions, all by different Lisbon publishers, in 1752 and 1760, and 1765.

home of a wealthy *fazendero* [property-owner]. However, the “clamor of *atabaques* [tall, wooden drums], *pandeiros* [tambourines], *canzás* [gourds], *botijas* [clay vessel], and castanets; such horrendous clamors which called to mind the confusion of Hell” interrupted his nightly repose. Pereira’s host explained that that the ruckus came from his slaves’ nocturnal *calundús*, which were “entertainments or divinations that these blacks are accustomed to making in their lands, and that when they are gathered together, they also do them here [in Brazil].” The blacks’ *calundus* were effective ritual mechanisms which, he explained, were used by slaves to discover the source of illnesses, to locate lost or stolen items, to ensure economic prosperity and to have “luck in their hunts and farms; and for many other things.”⁶⁴

Evidently, Pereira’s host not only tolerated his black slaves’ performance of *calundús* but also acknowledged their power to ensure both individual and collective health, prosperity, and well-being. It is also plausible that he benefitted financially from the *calundus* by charging white and black clients for ritual cures proffered by his slaves. For example, during the 1680s, a Bahian named Pedro Coelho Pimentel admitted to

⁶⁴ “[...]procedido do estrondo dos tabaques, pandeiros, canzás, botijas, e castanhetas; com tão horrendos alaridos, que se me representou a confusão do Inferno... São uns folguedos, ou adivinhações, (me disse o morador) que dizem estes pretos que costumam fazer nas suas terras, e quando se acham juntos, também usam delles cá, para saberem varias cousas; como as doenças de que procedem; e para adivinharem algumas cousas perdidas; e também para terem ventura em suas caçadas, e lavouras; e para outras muitas cousas.” Nuno Marques Pereira, *Compendio narrativo do peregrino da America: completada com a 2a parte, até agora inedita, acompanhada de notas e estudos de Varnhagen, Leite de Vasconcelos, Afranio Peixoto*, (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira, 1939), I: 123-124.

purchasing a married couple named Lucrecia and André, reputed to be powerful healers, “because they would always give him some earnings from their cures.”⁶⁵

The writings of Gregório do Mattos and Nuno Marques Pereira as well as the proliferation of Inquisition trials concerning witchcraft/ sorcery [*feiticos*], thus evidence the power of Afro-Brazilians’ ritual practices to attract multi-ethnic populations in ways that reflected both desires and anxieties of colonial white elites. Though European elites perceived black ritual as subverting the Church’s spiritual authority, African and Afro-descended populations were integral to the religious and cultural matrix of Portuguese Catholicism in Brazil. As we will see, blacks embodied and mediated access to religious power whether as *curandeiros* (healers) who served as ritual leaders, as interpreter-catechists who aided Catholic missionaries, or as members of black brotherhoods who financed processions that included their own displays of sacred royal authority.

Crafting Afro-Brazilian Catholicism

African-descended peoples not only constituted the economic backbone of Brazilian society, but likewise served as cultural go-betweens that aided Catholic clergymen to indoctrinate slave newly-arrived African slaves in their native languages. In a 1671 letter to the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in Rome, Jesuits missionaries in Bahia complained that because of the lack of priests, “so many souls suffer [and there is a] great

⁶⁵ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Cadernos do Promotor, No. 59, Livro 256, ff. 135-145. Cited in Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 153.

need because in these parts there is a multitude of pagans who come from the Reign of Angola, all of them lacking the Christian doctrine.”⁶⁶ The Overseas Council in Lisbon acknowledged in a 1701 letter that Jesuit priests in the Captaincy of Bahia relied upon black catechists proficient in the languages of the Costa da Mina (modern-day Benin) to evangelize African populations. Addressing this practical need, the Council thus recommended that the Portuguese King Dom Pedro II procure in Bahia “*negros forros e ladinos*” [free acculturated blacks] proficient in the “languages of their same country” who could be taught to “serve in the position of catechists” or purchase “some slaves for this same use” whose Jesuit training, like that of free blacks, would be financed by the royal *fazenda* [treasury].⁶⁷ Writing to the Portuguese King Dom Pedro II in 1703, Jesuit priests in Brazil recognized the “success” of their missionary endeavor by claiming that “with great fervor, and zeal in service of God and His Majesty” they had traveled throughout the Captaincy of Bahia indoctrinating local populations in both “the Portuguese language as well as in those of Angola.”⁶⁸ Even without mentioning the

⁶⁶ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Brasilia 3 (II); Vatican Film Library (VFL) Roll 156, ff. 115-115v. Cited in Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 199.

⁶⁷ “[...] que se devam procurar na Bahia alguns negros forros práticos na sua mesma língua achando-os, os quais os frades da Companhia terão cuidado de ensinar e doutrinar para fazerem este officio de catequistas, e entanto não estiverem capazes de instruírem os negros, que por conta da fazenda real se lhe devam dar o sustento necessário...e não havendo negros forros e ladinos, que por conta da fazenda da S. Magestade se comprem alguns escravos para este mesmo emprego...os quais os mesmos religiosos da Companhia ensinarão, e se mandarão sustentar pela Fazenda Real...” *AHU*, Seção Conselho Ultramarino Brasil—Baía, Caixa 3, doc. 314. “Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei D. Pedro II acerca do recrutamento do catequistas entre os negros forros da Bahia para doutrinar os negros da Costa da Mina.”

⁶⁸ “[...] assim na língua portugueza como nas de Angolla com grande fervor, e zello do serviço de Deos e de S. Magestade.” *APEB*, Seção colonial e provincial, Ordens Régias, vol. 14, doc. 82, Microfilmes, rolo

assistance of black catechists, the 1703 Jesuit report highlights the strategic importance of accessing Africans' cultural and linguistic knowledge to promote the Church and Crown's missionary projects in Brazil. In other words, the Church's efforts to proselytize African populations in Brazil rested firmly upon the intermediary role of African catechists capable of translating European Catholicism to enslaved Africans transferred to the Portuguese colony.

However, free and enslaved African and Afro-Brazilians not only served under Portuguese colonists but also deployed their religious power as patrons of their own segregated Catholic brotherhoods. For example, during the late seventeenth-century, an Afro-Brazilian brotherhood sent a free black from Bahia named Lourenço da Silva de Mendouca to protest the enslavement of black Christians before the papal curia in Rome. In an undated petition from the 1680s to Pope Innocent XI, before launching an apology against the perpetuity of slavery, Mendouca underscored his noble lineage as being of "the royal blood of the kings of Kongo and Angola."⁶⁹ Rather than a singular case, papal envoy testifies to the way in which blacks across the Iberian Atlantic world channeled

n°04. "Carta sobre o estado em que encontram as Missões desta capitania, administradas pelos religiosos desta cidade, 22 de Outubro de 1703, Bahia." Cited in Tânia Maria Pinto de Santana, "Nossa Senhora do Rosário no Santuário Mariano: irmandades e devoções negras em Salvador e no recôncavo baiano (século XVIII)," *Studia Histórica, Historia Moderna*, vol. 38, no. 1 (2016):100.

⁶⁹ Archives of Propaganda Fide, Scrittura originale riferite nelle Congregazioni generali (S.O.C.G.), 490, fol. 140. Cited in Richard Gray, "The Papacy and the Atlantic Slave Trade: Lourenço da Silva, The Capuchins and the Decisions of the Holy Office," *Past & Present* no. 115 (1987): 53.

their membership in Catholic brotherhoods to assert their privileged African royal ancestry in ways that shaped broader political debates concerning slavery and religion.

Prior to arriving before the papal curia in Rome, Mendouça had already established himself as a leading religious administrator of black confraternities in both Portugal and in Spain. Writing in 1681, an apostolic notary in Lisbon asserted Mendouça's reputation as a "competent procurator of all the Mulattoes throughout his kingdom, as in Castile and Brazil."⁷⁰ After his time in Lisbon, in 1682 Mendouça established privileged ties with the Spanish royal court in Madrid, and was both formally appointed the procurator of the Confraternity of Our Lady Star of the Negroes and granted a royal license to establish branches of that confraternity "throughout the whole of Christendom in any kingdom or dominion."⁷¹ Despite the lack of specific documentation concerning the black confraternity in Madrid, Mendouça's involvement in the black lay institution's administration was likely facilitated by the Afro-Peruvian nobleman Lorenzo da Re, who boasted the honorific title of Master of the King's Music and had also been inducted as a member of the Knight of the Order of Christ.⁷² Despite his claim to African royal ancestry and juridical status as a freedman, Mendouça's experience as a dark-skinned native of Brazil was duly marked by the context of slavery and institutional Catholicism in the Portuguese colony.

⁷⁰ Archives of Propaganda Fide, Scritture originale riferite nelle Congregazioni generali (S.O.C.G.), Africa, I, fol. 486. Quoted in English translation in *ibid.*, 55-56.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 54

⁷² *Ibid.*, 56.

Notwithstanding the many free blacks and mulattos who resided in urban port-cities such as Lisbon and Salvador, Europeans often equated blackness with slave status, disregarding the juridical distinctions between free and enslaved populations of African descent. Writing to the secretary of the Overseas Council in Lisbon in 1674, the Governor-General of Brazil, Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, textually inscribed black populations in late seventeenth-century Bahia within the colony's slave-based hierarchy. Furtado acknowledged the arrival of an embassy of Angolan princes in Salvador de Bahia but referred to them first as "six slaves," before correcting himself, to write, "I mean, six black Princes." Evidently, though they bore the honorific title of "dom" and were royals descended from the late King of Ndongo, dom Felipe I Ngola Ari, the Governor-General of Brazil associated black appearance with slave status.⁷³

At the same time as Jesuit missionaries garnered the Crown's support to finance the evangelization of multi-ethnic populations in the Portuguese Captaincy of Brazil, African slaves and their descendants forged new communities and channeled their own cultural and political agendas through institutional Catholicism. Though fraternal corporations modeled after European lay sodalities, black Catholic brotherhoods provided

⁷³ *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Baía, cx. 2, doc. 92, "Recibo de Francisco Gonçalves referente ao recebimento de negros escravos para entregar ao secretário do Conselho Ultramarino" 24 May, 1673. Quoted in English translation in João Lopes Serra and Stuart B. Schwartz, *A Governor and his image in baroque Brazil: the funereal eulogy of Afonso Furtado de Castro do Rio de Mendonça* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), 23. For a detailed analysis of the quasi-diplomatic embassy of African princes sent by the Governor of Angola, Francisco de Távora, to Brazil and Lisbon in 1673, see: Silvia Hunold Lara, "Depois da Batalha de Pungo Andongo (1671): O destino Atlântico dos Príncipes do Ndongo," *Revista História* (São Paulo), no. 175, (Jul./Dez. 2016): 205-225.

free and enslaved populations of African descent a cohesive mechanism to create and maintain kinship ties through ritual devotion and social reciprocity. In addition to attending Church liturgy and celebrating Catholic holidays, colonial brotherhoods functioned as mutual-aid societies which attended to the spiritual and material needs of the poor, sick, orphaned, and elderly persons. Of foremost importance among their charitable works, brotherhoods also ensured a “good death” by escorting their deceased members’ funeral corteges and performing masses on behalf of their souls.

One of the oldest and most prestigious Catholic brotherhoods was the Santa Casa da Misericórdia [The Holy House of Mercy], an elite male institution founded in Lisbon in 1498. Membership within the Misericórdia was limited to pure-blooded white males “free from infamy and defect,” who were at least twenty-five years old if single and if married both they and their wives were of “clean blood without any race of Moor, or Jew.”⁷⁴ Additionally, all members of the Misericórdia were expected to be wealthy and free from the impediment of labor so they could dedicate themselves wholly to performing the brotherhood’s charitable works, including supplying food, medicine, and dowries to prisoners and destitute populations and providing all members of society with

⁷⁴ BNP, *O Compromisso da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa*, (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1619). Manuscript S.C. 3062. Digital Object Identifier: sc-770-p. not paginated. Chapter 1-“Do número, e qualidades que hão de ter os Irmãos da Misericórdia” outlines six conditions to be met by its members including “[...]que seja limpe de sangue sem alguma raça de Mouro, o Judeo não somente em sua pessoa, mas também em sua mulher, se for casado...que seja livre de toda a infâmia, defeito, & de direito.. seja de idade conveniente, e sendo solteiro não sera recebido sem ter vinte, & sinquo annos perfeitos de idade...”

a dignified Church burial.⁷⁵ With the Crown's royal patronage, the Misericórdia enjoyed a monopoly over the collection of alms and the possession of funeral biers. Those biers were loaned out to other confraternities and commonly used to bury destitute and enslaved persons—though masters were expected to provide the Misericórdia a tax on behalf of their deceased slaves.

These royally-sponsored lay institutions spread rapidly. After the “Mother” institution in Lisbon had been established, sixty additional branches of the Misericórdias were founded in continental Portugal by 1524.⁷⁶ Like the Portuguese *câmaras* [town-councils], the Misericórdias served as tools of empire and social consolidation that were transferred over to the Crown's overseas dominions in Asia, Africa, and Brazil with sixteenth-century branches established in Madeira, Goa, Malacca, Macao, Luanda and Salvador de Bahia. Historian A.J.R. Russell-Wood notes that “by the end of the sixteenth-century, practically every settlement of the Portuguese, from Nagasaki to Bahia, had boasted its branch of the Misericórdia.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ For a magisterial social and institutional history of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia which examines its specific involvement with local secular and ecclesiastical institutions in Salvador de Bahia over the course of the colonial period see: A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1986.

⁷⁶ On the historical development of these Portuguese lay institutions see: Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, *As Misericórdias Portuguesas de D. Manuel I a Pombal*, (Lisboa: Livros Horizontes), 2001. For an examination of the Misericórdia branches in Portuguese overseas dominions in Asia and Brazil, see her most recent article: “Portuguese Colonial Charity: The Misericórdias of Goa, Bahia, and Macao,” in Stefan C.A. Halikowski Smith, ed. *Reinterpreting Indian Worlds: Essays in Honour of Kirti N. Chaudhuri* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 314-335.

⁷⁷ Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, xi.

Persons of African-descent, who could not become members of the Misericórdia brotherhood, established their own confraternities in parish churches and convents across the Iberian World. The most popular invocation of black brotherhoods was that of the Virgin of the Rosary, hailed to be the patroness of slaves. Though during the twelfth century Dominican friars promoted devotion to the Rosary to catechize African slaves, local populations of African descent in the Portuguese Atlantic islands of Mozambique, Ilha do Príncipe, and São Tomé invoked their institutional devotion to the Virgin of the Rosary as a liberating mechanism. In 1526 the Portuguese King Dom João II (1521-1557) not only responded favorably to a petition sent by enslaved local in São Tomé to establish their own brotherhood of the Rosary but also extended manumission to all its members.⁷⁸

In a 1535 letter, the Flemish humanist Nicolas Clenardus (Cleynaerts) expressed his horror at seeing Portuguese cities “full of slaves” such that Lisbon appeared to have “more men and women slaves than free Portuguese.”⁷⁹ During the sixteenth-century, when slaves constituted nearly ten percent of Lisbon’s population, Africans and their free and enslaved descendants congregated in brotherhoods devoted to the Virgin of the

⁷⁸ Frei Agostino de Santa Maria, *Santuário Mariano e história das imagens milagrosas de Nossa Senhora, e das milagrosamente aparecidas em graça dos pregadores & devotos da mesma Senhora*, (Lisboa: Na Oficina de Antonio Pedrozo Galvão, 1707), Tomo V, 436.

⁷⁹ Nicolaus Clenardus, *Correspondenc de Nicolas Clénard: Recueil de lettres traduites en français* Vol. III (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1941), 32, 46. Letter to Jacobus Latomus from Évora, 20 March. 1535. Cited in A C.de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1551* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.

Rosary located within the urban port-city's convents and churches.⁸⁰ Prior to the establishment of their own black Brotherhood of the Rosary in the mid sixteenth-century, Lisbon's multi-ethnic populations venerated images of the Virgin of the Rosary in Dominican chapels and convents throughout the city.

During the 1460s the Rosary brotherhood in the Dominican Monastery in Lisbon welcomed both African slaves and white noblemen. However, growing hostilities between black and white members prompted its institutional division by 1551, into two brotherhoods: one for “pretos forros e escravos” (free and enslaved blacks) and the other for “pessoas honradas” (honorable persons)—Lisbon's elite whites.⁸¹ In their 1565 *compromisso*, the black founders of the Rosary brotherhood in Lisbon explained that while their membership included black slaves neither “a slave captive, nor white Moor, nor mulatto, nor Indian” was permitted to have administrative power or the right to vote in the board's elections, thereby excluding, with the exception of their scribe—“a noble white man”—all but free blacks from serving within their administrative government. In other words, the free administrators of black Brotherhood of the Rosary in Lisbon modified the Iberian religious discourse of blood purity to enact their own status of color privilege.⁸²

⁸⁰ Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 55.

⁸¹ Cristovão Rodrigues de Oliveira, *Sumário que brevemente se contem algumas coisas assim Eclesiásticas como Seculares, que há na Cidade da Lisboa [1554]*, (Lisboa: Oficina de Miguel Rodrigues), 1760.

⁸² BNP, *O Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos*, (Mosteiro de S. Domingos, Lisboa). Lisboa: 2 de Dezembro de 1565. Digital access number: il-151. Cap. 2- “Acordarão a

In the prologue to their 1565 *compromisso*, the black Brotherhood of the Rosary's founding members traced the genealogical origins of their ancestral Christianity in order to affirm their privileged position as longstanding devotees of the Virgin. Even though they acknowledged themselves to be "black men coming from far-away lands and parts of Ethiopia," they claimed that they, too, had "been infused with the Holy Spirit's grace" and granted "knowledge of the many great miracles of Our Lady of the Rosary" so together with "all the generations of the world, they honored, praised, adored, and served" the Glorious Mother of God in her invocation of the Rosary. As they had been "moved by Catholic devotion," to the Virgin who promised that "whomever touched the mantle of her mercy would be rescued, forgiven, and remedied in their tribulations," they had established their own "holy chapel and confraternity" in which they, the blacks of Lisbon, honored the Virgin of the Rosary by organizing her annual feast-day (Figure 19).⁸³

que haja na ditta confraria e Irmandade hum juiz, e dous mordomos e hum escrivão o qual sera branco, e hum homem nobre, e pessoa de que se tenha respeito que chame os irmãos quando se ouver de fazer alguma couza a ajuntarseão para elegerem os dittos officias por dia de N.S. do Rosario que vem no mez de julho pela visitação de Sancta Isabel..." Cap. 7 "Acordarão que nenhum escravo cativo possa ser official nem ter mandado na confraria nem mourisco branco, nem mulato, nem indio."

⁸³ Ibid. Prólogo "[...] que quem se pegace as abas de sua mizericordia fosse socorrido, perdoado, & remediado em suas tribulações...ao qual todas as gerações do mundo honrrão, louvão, adorão, servem, & por este respeito os Mosteiros da S. Ordem dos pregadores tem sempre a Capela de N.S. do Rosario a quem servem a celebrão sua festa. & porque os homens pretos vindo das longe terras e partes da Ethiopia tocados da graça do Spirito Sancto vindo em conhecimento de N.S. do Rosario e dos seus grandes milagres e movidos de Catholica devoção forão os primeiros edificadores e principiantes ostentadores da muy S.



Figure 19: Frontispiece (Left) and Prologue (Right), *Compromisso da Irmandade de N. Sra do Rosário dos Homens Pretos*, Lisbon, 1565. BNP.

Each year, the brotherhood’s governing board elected three male members at least forty-years of age and of “outstanding reputation and good conscience” who would collect alms to purchase oil, masses, and wax, which were needed for Sunday services and the Virgin’s annual feast-day held in July on the Sunday after the Visitation of Saint Isabel.⁸⁴ On their patron saint’s annual feast day, the Brotherhood of the Rosary

Capela e confraria que hora esta edificada e residente em o Mosteiro de S. Domingos deste mui nobre e leal cidade de Lix.a a qual Capela e confraria e devoção floreceo no anno de mil e quatrocentos e secenta.”

⁸⁴ Ibid. Cap. 18 “Acordarão que os officiaes que han de servir, e o procurador da Confraria, e cada hum anno elegerão hua pessoa que tire pera o azeite, e outra pera a missa, e outra pera a cera, a qual sera de

organized an afternoon procession that included the brotherhood's officers—its *juíz* [judge] or *procurador* [procurator], two *mordomos* [mayordomos], scribe and treasurer—as well as local clergymen paid by the brotherhood to form part of their ritual parade. After leaving the Dominican Monastery dressed in their white cloaks and carrying lit torches, the brotherhood's black officers paraded with the statue of the Virgin while reciting the Rosary prayers. Moreover, the brotherhood's ritual cortege also included “kings and queens, princes and princesses, dukes and duchesses, counts and countesses, marquises and marchionesses, cardinals and other dignitaries” elected from the brotherhood's membership to participate in civic and religious processions over the course of their lifetime.⁸⁵

Notwithstanding the absence of visual or textual descriptions of the annual feast-day processions organized by the black Brotherhood of the Rosary in sixteenth-century Lisbon, later historical accounts testify to the prominence of black festive practices throughout the Iberian World. Just as in sixteenth-century Lisbon the black brotherhood of the Rosary appointed royal dignitaries from its black membership to perform their privileged status, in seventeenth-century Recife black confraternities participated in the

idade de quarenta annos pera cima, e cazado, e homem de bom viver, e boa consciencia sendo eleito fazendo o que não deve o possão tirar e dar a caixa a outrem com estas condições.”

⁸⁵ Ibid., Cap. 26. “Acordarão que quando algum irmão quizer por sua devoção ser mordomo, principe, reys, duque, condes, marquezes, cardeal e quasquer outras dignidades se farão os dittos cargos a votos, e ninguem podera ter os cargos maiz que em sua vida, e se estiver auzente, em lugar se pora outra pessoa, e tanto que o auzente vier podera exercitar o seu cargo.”

colony's religious life by celebrating the ritual crowning of their African Kings and Queens.

In a 1668 travel account, the French explorer Urbain Souchu de Rennefort (ca. 1630-1690) minimized the "harsh captivity" of Angolan slaves who labored on the sugar-mill plantations in northeastern Brazil by asserting that their wealthy Portuguese masters permitted them to "rejoice on occasion."⁸⁶ Describing the participation of black slaves during public celebrations in Recife in honor of the feast-day of the Virgin of the Rosary, he wrote:

On Sunday, the 10th of September 1666, they hosted their feast-day in Pernambuco. After having gone to Mass, a number of around four hundred men and one hundred women elected a King and Queen, they walked through the streets, singing, dancing, and reciting verses which they improvised, preceded by atabaques, trumpets, and tambourines. They were dressed in the clothing of their Masters and Mistresses, with gold chains and golden earrings and pearls; some [wore] masks. The expenses of their ceremony cost one hundred crowns. The King and his Officers did not do anything that whole week except to promenade solemnly through the streets with a sword and dagger at their sides.⁸⁷

The Pernambucan native Domingos Loureto Couto (1700-1759) also described the religious performances of free and enslaved blacks in mid-seventeenth-century

⁸⁶ Urbain Souchu de Rennefort, *Histoire des Indes orientales*, (Paris: Chez Arnoul Seneuze), 1688.

⁸⁷ My translation from the original French. "Le Dimanche dixieme Setembre 16666 ils firent leur Feste à Pernambouc. Après avoir esté à la Messe au nombre environ de quatre cens hommes & de cent femmes, ils éleurent un Roy e une Reyne, & marcherent par les rües chantans, dansans, & recitans des vers qu'ils avoient faits, precedez de hautbois, de trompettes, & de tambours de basque. Ils estoient vêtus des habits de leurs maîtres e maîtresses, avec des chaisnes d'or & des pendants d'oreilles d'or & de perles; quelques-uns masquez. Les frais de la ceremonie leur coûterent cent écus. Le Roy & ses Officiers ne firent rien pendant toute cette semaine que se proment avec gravité l'épée & la dague au côté." Ibid., 208-209.

Recife.⁸⁸ The city's Afro-descended populations, Loureto Couto explained, not only financed the construction and administration of a "sumptuous and curious" Church dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary but "each day of the year without any occurrence causing them the least impediment" they dedicated themselves to "singing the litany of the Rosary prayers" and also celebrated the Virgin's yearly feast-day with "dances, and other lawful amusements, with which all the people devoutly rejoice."⁸⁹

As was the case of the Black Brotherhood of the Rosary in Lisbon whose 1565 *compromisso* excluded slaves from forming part of their institutional government or being appointed as royal dignitaries, in their 1674 *compromisso*, the black Brotherhood of the Rosary in Recife established that, in addition to voting each year for the brotherhood's male and female administrative officials, they would also appoint the following four royal dignitaries: one "*rei dos Angola*" [King of the Angolans], one "*rei dos crioulos*" [King of the Brazilian-born blacks], and two *Rainhas* [Queens], all

⁸⁸ Notwitshtanding Souchat's 1666 account of the black festival of the Rosary in Recife, 1674 is considered by historians as the first reference to the ritual crownings of African Kings in Brazil. Antonia Aparecida Quintão, *Lá vem o meu parente: As Irmandade de Pretos e Pardos no Rio de Janeiro e Pernambuco (Século XVIII)*, (São Paulo: Annablume/FAPESP, 2002), 118.

⁸⁹ "[...] Os homens pretos, e captivos se mostram tão affectuosos no amor e serviço da May de Deos, a Senhora do Rosário, que elles mesmos ainda que pobres, se lhe resolverão a fundar hua fermosa Igreja, em que só elles são os fundadores, e administradores. He este Templo de curiosa e sumptuosa esctuctura, o seu frontespicio, pomposa fabrica de pedra branca, admiravel desempenho da Architectura efficativa....He certamente de grande, edificação e ternura ver o fervor zelo e dispendio com que servem a sua Senhora. Todos os dias do anno sem que estorve algum acontecimento cantão o terço com ladainha....Na segunda domingo do Outubro festejão a Senhora com grande solemnidade, e para mayor fervor da sua devoção, formão danças, e outros lícitos divertimentos, com que devotamente alegrão o povo." Domingos Loureto Couto, *Desagravos do Brasil e glórias de Pernambuco*, [1757], (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Typographica da Biblioteca Nacional, 1904), 158.

required to be freedmen and women.⁹⁰ During annual elections, the black Brotherhood of the Rosary of Recife celebrated their incoming officers and their newly-elected Kings who were charged with naming a “governor of each nation” during a ritual ceremony of “taking possession” that was led by the Reverend Chaplain in the interior sacristy and announced publicly with the tolling of the Church bells. Since the brotherhood’s black officers and royal dignitaries—their African Kings and retinue of governors—were all expected to pay customary alms required for their offices, it is perhaps not surprising that enslaved members were prohibited from occupying these posts given their lack of financial independence from their masters.⁹¹

Significantly, in his 1711 treatise, the Jesuit priest André João Antonil (1647-1716) urged the owners of Bahian sugar-mills to not only allow their slaves’ ritual festivities but also to finance them.⁹² For example, Antonil declared that on the “feast days of the Virgin of the Rosary, Saint Benedict, or the sugar-mill’s patron saint,” after attending morning mass in the sugar-mill plantation’s chapel, the slaves should be

⁹⁰ AHU, Lisboa, Códice 1293, “Compromisso da Irmandade de N. Sra do Rosário dos Homens Pretos do Recife.” Cap. 28-“ Que se faça Rei do Congo e Rainha, e ambos serão alistados na Eleição: e cada um dará de esmola de seu cargo, quatro mil réis, e quando se eleger o Rei seja um dos irmãos desta Irmandade do gentio do Reino de Angola, isento de escravidão, casado, de bons costumes, e temente a Deus (...) Será obrigado a mandar tirar esmolos pelas suas nações nas quatro festas do ano para ajuda das obras da Igreja.”

⁹¹ Ibid. “[...] será obrigado a fazer governador em cada nação, e os que virão tomar posse nesta Igreja e ao dito Rei no dia da sua posse o receberá a Irmandade com repiques de sinos, e o nosso Reverendo capelão lhe dará a posse na Capela maior com solenidade, e dele receberá a esmola do costume...”

⁹² André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil; texto confrontado com o da edição de 1711, com um estudo biobibliográfico, por Affonso E. Taunay, nota bibliográfica de Fernando Sales, vocabulário e índices antroponímico, toponímico e de assuntos de Leonardo Arroyoa*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Melhoramentos; Brasília: INL), 1976.

allowed to celebrate their own rites in the evenings to fête their elected *reis do Congo* [the Kings of Kongo]. Moreover, he argued that slaves' "singing and dancing honestly for a few hours on a few days of the year" should be promoted to impede them from becoming "disconsolate and melancholic, lacking in vigor and health." In addition to protecting his investment in slave-laborers by allowing them to rest and celebrate Catholic feast days, the Jesuit priest asserted that the sugar-mill owner should, "as a prize for their continual labor," finance his slaves' ritual ceremonies as otherwise he would subject himself to robbery given that "only a few [slaves] could lawfully gather funds" to organize their own festivals.⁹³

While Antonil refers to the religious practices of rural slaves from sugarcane plantations in the Bahian Recôncavo, in nearby urban Salvador black populations had already established their own Catholic brotherhoods by the early seventeenth-century. Moreover, almost every urban center in eighteenth-century Brazil boasted several black brotherhoods devoted to the Virgin of the Rosary, many of whom claimed a privileged African Christian ancestry linked to biblical monarchs. For example, in his 1722 chronicle of Marianic devotions across the Portuguese Empire, the Portuguese friar

⁹³ "Negar-lhes totalmente os seus folguedos, que sao o único alívio do seu cativo, é querê-los desconsolados e melancólicos, de pouca vida e saúde. Portanto, não lhes estranhem os senhores o criarem seus reis, cantar e bailar por algumas horas honestamente em alguns dias do ano, e o alegraram-se inocentemente à tarde depois de terem feito pela manhã suas festas de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, de São Benedito e do orago da capela do engenho, sem gasto dos escravos, acudindo o senhor com sua liberalidade aos juizes e dando-lhes algum prêmio de seu continuado trabalho. Porque se os juizes e juizas da festa houverem de gastar do seu, será causa de muitos inconvenientes e ofensas a Deus, por serem poucos os que o podem licitamente ajuntar." Ibid., 92.

Agostinho de Santa Maria asserted that one black brotherhood of the Rosary located in the Bahian Recôncavo shared the royal genealogy of the first Christian Ethiopian monarch, descended from the bloodline of King Solomon of Jerusalem and his Ethiopian consort, Queen Sheba. Regardless of their birthplace or status as free or enslaved, because “God so esteemed the blacks that he gave the blacks his own blood a thousand years before taking on our own,” Afro-descended populations could take pride in a royal Christian lineage that even anticipated the life and death of Jesus Christ.⁹⁴

As early as 1604 free and enslaved populations of African descent in Salvador’s Cathedral Sé had already established an informal brotherhood devoted to an image of the Virgin of the Rosary and, in 1686, the Portuguese Crown officially approved of the the lay sodality’s *compromisso* [bylaws].⁹⁵ After years of wrestling with Portuguese clergy from the Cathedral Sé parish over their institutional autonomy, in 1696 the black Brotherhood successfully petitioned the Crown for a plot of land, adjacent to the fortified

⁹⁴ “Notável é a estimação que Deus faz dos pretos; todos estes são descendentes do Rei da Etiópia; porque a Etiópia é a principal Monarquia da África; e assim dos etíopes procedem os mais pretos de toda aquela grande parte do mundo; e assim digo que estimo Desu tanto aos pretos que mil anos antes de tomar o nosso sangue, deu aos pretos o seu.” Frei Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Santuário Mariano e História das Imagens Milagrosas de Nossa Senhora...* (Lisbon: 1722): Vol. 9, 85

⁹⁵ *Arquivo da Igreja do Rosário dos Pretos*, “Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora dos Homens Pretos, 1820,” cap. I “Da Instituição e Ereção da Irmandade.” Transcription in Jefferson Afonso Bacelar and Maria Conceicao Barbosa de Souza, *O Rosário dos Pretos do Pelourinho* (Salvador: Fundação do Patrimônio Artístico e Cultural da Bahia, 1974), 124.

city walls known as the Portas do Carmo, on which to erect their own chapel independent of parochial jurisdiction.⁹⁶

Given that many of the Rosary brotherhood's members remained enslaved, gathering funds to purchase materials delayed the church's construction for over a decade. In addition to lacking resources to build their own establishment, the brotherhood's black administrators faced the political opposition of local slave-holding elites who prevented them their slaves for laboring for themselves. In 1703, writing to the Chancellor of the High Court in Salvador, the black officers of the brotherhood of the Rosary protested the physical exploitation of their enslaved members whose masters disobeyed royal decrees by denying their slaves time off to cultivate their own plots of land or to attend Mass on Sunday and on Holy Days. Responding to the brotherhood of the Rosary's complaints on May 14, 1703, Portuguese King Dom João II ordered the Chancellor to investigate whether "the law that had been passed that gave slaves one free day each week to procure their own sustenance was being executed, and jointly if their masters complied with their Christian obligations, which he had decreed, by sending them [their slaves] to the Churches."⁹⁷ Finally, between 1703 and 1726, the black

⁹⁶ Luiz Monteiro da Costa, "A Devoção de Nossa Senhora do Rosário na cidade do Salvador," *Revista do Instituto Genealógico da Bahia*, vol. 10, no. 10 (1958), 105.

⁹⁷ AHU, Lisbon, Registro de cartas, avisos e ofícios para a Baía, Tomo 246, Livro 2, 1690-1710, p. 176. Cited in Mulvey, "Black Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," 112-113. "Para o Chanceler da Relação da Bahia. Requerimento do Juis e Irmãos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario da Bahia. Chanceler da Relação da Bahia etc. por parte de Juis e Irmaos da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos pretos dessa Cidade se me fez aqui a petição cuja copia se vos envia/ em q^e se queixão do mao tracto qⁿ os

members of the Rosary dedicated themselves to erecting their church, “stealing hours of rest to gather the materials they themselves bought according to the blueprint they had designed, slaves and freedmen, using their own artistry as carpenters and masons.”⁹⁸

Despite the Crown’s 1703 response supporting of the black brotherhood of the Rosary, in 1718 the Archbishop of Salvador dismissed the latter’s independence from parish jurisdiction by ordering the newly-created parish of Santíssimo Sacramento da Rua do Passo—dismembered from that of the Sé—be installed, temporarily, within the black Church of the Rosary das Portas do Carmo. The parish of Passo functioned within the black church of the Rosary for over two decades. Notwithstanding protracted protests from the Church of the Rosary’s unwilling hosts, the parishioners of Passos did not relinquish their control over the space of the black church until 1740.⁹⁹ Jurisdictional disputes over the institutional autonomy of the black brotherhood persisted in the newly constructed church.

Senhores dão aos seus escravos. E pareceo-me ordenar-vos informeis se com effeito se guarda a lei q’ se passou sobre se dar hum dia na semana livre p^a estes escravos grangeare o seu sustento, e juntam^{te} seus senhores os mandão as Igrejas a cumprir as obrigações de Christãos, como tenho disposto. Scripta em Lx^a a 14 de Maio de 1703.” Rey.

⁹⁸ The original Portuguese reads: “[...] negros escravos que a isso se dedicavam durante a noite, depois de que cumpridas suas tarefas roubando horas de repouso, reunino o material comprado por eles próprios enquanto oficiais de carpinteiro, pedreiros, escravos e forros, usavam de sua arte segundo o traço por eles mesmo feito.” Cited in Bacelar and Souza, *O Rosário dos Pretos do Pelourinho*, 43-44.

⁹⁹ AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Bahia, avulsos, Cx. 15, doc. 2671. Vigário Francisco Xavier Marques, “Relação da Freguesia do Sacramento da Rua do Passo.” 1757.

Just as the black administrators of the Church of the Rosary das Portas da Carmo sought the support of Salvador's secular government to enforce the Crown's royal prohibitions against master' exploitation of slave laborers, they also involved local government authorities in a series of legal disputes concerning the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Bahia's royal monopoly over the possession of funeral biers [*esquifes*]. In 1693, while the black Brotherhood of the Rosary was still located in the Cathedral Sé, the Santa Casa da Misericórdia granted its governing officials the privilege of borrowing their funeral bier contingent upon the condition it could only be used to bury the Rosary's free end enslaved members.¹⁰⁰ A year later, however, the Misericórdia attempted to rescind their previous concession since they claimed that the Rosary brotherhood had broken the terms of their agreement by using the funeral biers to bury non-members whose names had falsely been registered in the brotherhood's membership registers. The black Brotherhood of the Rosary, however, defended themselves against the Misericórdia's legal charges and reiterated their promise to restrict the privilege of using the funeral bier for its members.¹⁰¹

Following their relocation from the Cathedral Sé to their independent church, the administrators of the black brotherhood of the Rosary in Bahia argued that that they

¹⁰⁰ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia da Bahia, 1555-1755*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 217.

¹⁰¹ Though the Misericórdia withdrew the black Brotherhood of the Rosary's license to use its funeral bier on October 20, 1693, the privileges were reinstated on July 1, 1695. Arquivo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia da Bahia (ASCMB), vol. 14, f. 35, f. 43 and f. 44. Cited in *Ibid.*

should be granted the same burial privileges as whites. In an undated eighteenth-century petition to the Dom João V, the black administrators of the Rosary urged the Portuguese Monarch to reinstate his predecessor Dom Pedro II's royal concession to the brotherhood granting them the use of their own funeral bier. Moreover, they declared that many of the Rosary brotherhood's members were freedmen and soldiers who served the Crown loyally and without payment in the black regiment of Henrique Dias and thus merited the same burial privileges as those of the white soldiers of the Infantes regiment who were allowed to use a covered bier known as a *tumba de arco*.¹⁰² As one of the principal black brotherhoods in Salvador which boasted its own church, the Brotherhood of the Rosary located on the outskirts of the Carmelite Church (referred to in historical documents, with reference to its geographic location, as the Rosary das Portas do Carmo or das Baixas do

¹⁰² BNRJ, MS 512, Microfilme Rolo 56, Doc. 712. "Representação dos Irmãos confrades da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário da Bahia, a El-Rei sôbre o enterramento dos membros da Irmandade na Igreja." s/d post-1749. "Diz o Juiz e mais Irmãos de Nossa Senhora do Rosário da Cidade da Bahia de todos os santos da Irmandade dos pretos cita em afuera da Igreja as portas do Carmo da invocação da mesma Senhora, que antes que elles os supplicantes tive huma Igreja lhes fuera honrra o Senhor Rey Dom Pedro que a Santa Gloria haja merce de lhes conceder hum esquife para enterrarem os fies comfrades, como consta dos papeis que apresenta e hoje como se achão com igual [remedio?] de Irmãos e de sacados com suas esmolhas que tiraram e estão sobre e juntamente agregados os militares do terço de Henrique Dias que se achão todos Irmãos na dita Irmandades e serem sehores de sy e estarem servindo a V. Magestade actualmente na plaça da Cidade da Bahia de Todos os Santos conformes com elle e fidelidade de seus vasallos sem emollimento deseja algum va com fe agora os Supplicantes [dense la merced?] de V. Magestade que visto que o Senhor Rey Dom Pedro que Santa Gloria haja favoreceo tanto esa Irmandade da dita Senhora antevendo serem homens pretos desamparados por vida e que servirão as honras P. a V. Magestade que atendo ao serviço de seus Irmãos antes do Terço dos Pretos lhe faça mercede honrralhes com lhes conceder para seus enterramentos tumba de arco na forma em que se enteram os soldados infantes brancos pede nelle não há mais deferença do que nas cores, e a esta siempre a vontade de V. Magestade em quererlhes honrrar requiere a dita Sra do Rosário lhe agradecerá. E.R.M." Ibid.

Sapateiro), took a leadership role in defending Afro-descended populations legal rights to a Christian burial.

During the latter half of the eighteenth-century, black brotherhoods began to modify their institutional bylaws to accommodate the growing number of literate black capable of filling the financial and administrative offices formerly monopolized by whites. Whites anxious to retain their vigilance over black institutions, however, denounced their displacement, arguing that blacks were insufficiently qualified to serve as scribes and treasurers. For example, the priest Joaquim Álvares intimated racial anxieties incurred by the loss of white vigilance over the black in a 1784 written complaint sent to the judicial magistrate of criminal affairs in Bahia concerning the black Brotherhood of the Rosary of João Pereira.¹⁰³ The priest argued that, by replacing white scribes and treasurers with black officers, the black brotherhood was subverting the “proper administration of the brotherhood’s wealth and alms.”¹⁰⁴

Afro-Brazilian Royal Performances

Black brotherhoods not only defended their corporative legitimacy and administrative prerogatives to provide their membership with Christian burials and to celebrate their saint’s annual feast-day without the interference of whites, but also through their participation in the city’s municipal celebrations. For example, during the

¹⁰³ Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB). Ouvidoria do Crime: 1780-1784. Maço 176, doc. 41. “Requerimento do Pe. Joaquim Alvares escrivão da Irmandade do Rosário da Rua de João Pereira deste cidade sobre as desordens que alega praticadas pela mesa no governo da mesma irmandade.”

¹⁰⁴ “[...] o bom governo dos cabedais e esmoladas da irmandade.” Ibid.

early eighteenth-century the Black Brotherhood of the Rosary das Portas do Carmo figured prominently in a municipal festival held in Salvador in honor of the royal nuptials of Prince José (later King Dom José I of Portugal) and the Spanish infant Maria Anna Victoria.¹⁰⁵

On July 25th, 1729 the pealing of church bells signaled the beginning of nearly a month-long celebration. On July 31st, the annual-feast day of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the Cathedral Sé hosted an elaborate sung mass attended by the Archbishop and Viceroy that included a *Te Deum* response accompanied by a full choir, orchestra, and a sermon delivered in the presence of the unveiled Eucharist. The next day, on August 1st, the dynastic festivities continued in the streets, with a ritual procession whose route began at the Cathedral, continued through the *Terreiro de Jesus*—a main square facing the Franciscan Church and the Jesuit College—and descended down to the Benedictine Convent, the Senate building and Viceroy’s Palace before circling backwards to the centrally-located plaza of the Sé Cathedral.¹⁰⁶ The public parade incorporated a variety of wooden floats bearing elaborately-decorated images, triumphal carts with allegorical figures escorted by musical troupes, masquerades, and other theatrical performances with

¹⁰⁵ José Ferreira de Matos, *Diario historico das celebridades, que na cidade da Bahia se fizerão em acção de graças pelos felicissimos cazamentos dos serenissimos senhores principes de Portugal, e Castella*, (Lisboa:na Officina de Manoel Fernandes da Costa, Impressor do Santo Officio), 1729.

¹⁰⁶ “[...] se gastou a manhã deste dia o primeyro de Agosto na preparação das Figuras, ornato das ruas, disposição dos carros, danças, e de outras muytas cousas precisas...” Ibid., 36.

singing and dancing. In its grandeur and cost, the dynastic celebration rivaled the city's principal Catholic celebration of *Corpus Christi*.

The procession was headed by a costly float commissioned by the Senate Council of Salvador which displayed the allegorical figure of America “mounted on a well-adorned horse; from whose head emerged feathers made of precious diamonds and jewels beset with pearls.” The feminine allegory of America, likely depicted as an indigenous native, was entirely nude, wearing only jewel-encrusted feathers and espadrilles and bracelets of the same ostentatious material. The image carried a richly-ornamented walking stick or *bengala* in one hand, and in the other a bow and arrow, traditional weapons, which the Portuguese chronicler remarked disparagingly, remained “still in use today by the savage inhabitants [of Brazil].” Accompanying the equestrian figure of America, which was likely fixed to a large wooden processional cart, walked five “*Indios da terra*” [indigenous natives] “bedecked in the ornate feathers of the birds of America, and armed with bows and arrows.”¹⁰⁷

In contrast with the scarcely clad figure of America covered in bedazzled feathers and carrying a walking stick and bow and arrow, the next processional floats containing

¹⁰⁷ “Dava principio a ella a Figura da America, obra do Senado da Camera, montada em hum cavallo bem ajaezado; compunha-se a facha da cabeça, donde nascião as plumas, de preciosas joyas de diamantes, guarnecida de perolas: das mesmas joyas se compunha o cingulo, que prendia as plumas, com que se revestiao o meyo corpo inferior da Figura; e das mesmas preciosidades se formava a aljava, e seu fastão, que pendia do hombro direyto intransverso para a parte esquerda; e com o mesmos custo, e grandeza erão fabricadas as alparcatas, e braceletes: levava na mão arco, e frechas, armas, de que ainda hoje usão seus incultos habitantes. Acompanhavão a esta Figura as de cinco Indios da terra a pé, ornados das vistosas pennas das aves da America, armados de arcos, e frechas.” Ibid., 40.

allegorical figures of Portugal and Castile, were dressed in finely-embroidered gowns with gold-lace fringe. The statues representing the Iberian Monarchs whose royal nuptials inspired the city's festivities were also seated upon richly-adorned horses and carried staffs with the banners of their kingdoms and royal scepters. Though the image of Portugal sported a golden pectoral and a gold crown, "since this was the precious metal that from its loins America liberally offered to Portugal," the figure of Castile displayed a silver pectoral and silver crown, given that "from silver America enriched the Kingdoms of Castile."¹⁰⁸ In other words, whereas the allegories of the Iberian Sovereigns displayed upon their bodies the mineral wealth extracted from their imperial dominions, the indigenous figure of America mimetically resembled the colonized Brazilian natives who, carrying bows and arrows, and decorated with colorful feathers, bore the symbolic marks of their indigenous alterity.

The processional order of the allegorical figures mirrored imperial hierarchies given that the ritual cortege containing the lavishly-dressed statues representing the "Old World" Kingdoms of Portugal and Castile was introduced by the figure of symbolizing the "New World" territories of America. Similarly, the parishes followed an established ecclesiastical hierarchy with the oldest and most important parish—that of the Cathedral Sé—coming last and the freshly-inaugurated black Church of the Rosary das Portas do

¹⁰⁸ "[...] o peyto da Figura de Portugal era formado de ouro, e de ouro era tambem a coroa, que levava na cabeça, por ser este o preciozo metal, que de suas entranhas offerece liberalmente a America a Portugal. Formava-se o peyto, e coroa da Figura da Castella de prata, porque de prata enriquece a America os Reynos de Castella." Ibid., 41.

Carmo leading the procession. The black Church of the Rosary das Portas do Carmo's ritual cortege included two dances, followed by the parish Cross, clergymen in surplices, the parish Priest in his aspergillum cloak, and members of the church's five confraternities dressed in their insignias and carrying standards and crosses. The costly investment of the black Church's congregations was further exemplified in the lavishly ornamented "float covered with cloth, bordered in gold-fringed lace" upon whose throne was seated "the Image of Our Lady of the Rosary, beset with many diamond jewels."¹⁰⁹

Even though there is no mention of African Kings and Queens participating in the 1729 royal festivities, as we have discussed, mid-seventeenth-century black brotherhoods in Brazil were already publicly crowning their elected Kings and Queens. As such, it is likely that the black Church of the Rosary which visualized their religious privilege through the impressive statue of the Virgin also integrated African royal power within the political body of the civic performances. While serving as a captain of the Portuguese royal army in Brazil between 1764 and 1795, the Italian artist Carlos Julião (1740-1811) produced a series of forty-three watercolor images depicting social and religious customs of Portuguese, indigenous, and Afro-descended populations. Included in his drawings are several representations of the ritual celebrations of black kings and

¹⁰⁹ "A primeyra era a da Freguesia de Nossa Senhora do Rosario das portas do Carmo: compunha-se esta de duas danças, e sinco Confrarias, que tem esta Matris, ornadas com seus guiões, Cruzes, e mais insignias; a Cruz da Paroquia, os Clerigos della com sobrepellizes, (e do mesmo modo os das mais Freguesias) o Reverendo Paroco com Pluvial de tela branca, e em ultimo lugar hum carro revestido de telas, guarnecidas de franjas, e galões de ouro, e no throno delle a Imagem de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, ornada de muytas joyas de diamantes." Ibid., 42-43.

queens, presumably in Rio de Janeiro where, in 1779, nearly fifty-five percent of the city's population was Afro-descended (Figure 20).¹¹⁰



Figure 20: Carlos Julião, “Black King Festival,” ca. 1776. Watercolor drawing, in *Riscos iluminados de figurinhos de brancos e negros dos uzos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio*, Plate 49.¹¹¹

In the image above we see the King, donning a golden crown and holding a golden scepter, walking beneath a red embroidered parasol carried by a servant who sports a cap with blue-plumes. The King wears a black shirt with a lace collar, a crimson

¹¹⁰ According to a 1779 population census, almost fifteen thousand slaves resided in the Atlantic port-city of Rio de Janeiro. “Resumo total da população que existia no anno de 1779,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 21 (1858): 216-217. Cited in Silvia Hunold Lara, “Customs and Costumes: Carlos Julião and the Image of Black Slaves in Late Eighteenth-Century Brazil,” *Slavery & Abolition* 23, no. 2 (2002): 125.

¹¹¹ Facsimile edition of the manuscript collection C.I.28 from the Iconographic Division of the Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro (BNRJ). Classification Number (Digitized Manuscript) 3.030.647. The original Portuguese title reads: “*Rei e rainha negros da festa de Reis.*”

wrapper, and a red embroidered cloak whose trail is carried by a page who, like the parasol-bearer, wears a triangular cap bedecked with blue plumes. Several male musicians dressed in colorful fabrics and wearing blue-plumed hats accompany the royal cortege with African percussive instruments—a tambourine, marimba, a *reco-reco*, and a boxlike scraper—as well as a European-style guitar and castanets. Standing behind the royal cortege, a single female, wearing a white turban, a black cloak, and a green wrapper over which dangles a contrasting band of red fabric, appears to watch silently. The woman’s importance within the elaborate procession, however, is testified by her dress which mirrors that of female alms-collectors from the black Brotherhood of the Rosary’s shown in a preceding watercolor image (Figure 21).



Figure 21: Carlos Julião, “Dress of Slaves Alms-Collectors for the Festival of the Rosary,” ca. 1776. Watercolor drawing, in *Riscos iluminados de figurinhos de brancos e negros dos uzos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio*, Plate 45.¹¹²

¹¹² The original title in Portuguese reads: “*Vestimentas de escravas pedintes na festa do Rosário.*”

Though ostensibly relating to the feast-day celebrations of the Black Brotherhood of the Rosary in Rio de Janeiro, the two images' lack of geographic specificity and outdoor setting underscores the generic way in which Afro-descended populations' Catholic celebrations were visually figured and comprehended within global frameworks.¹¹³ The artist's generic representations of black religious festivities thus reflects Julião broader iconographic program to document the diverse "types and costumes" of colonial subjects in Brazil.¹¹⁴ At the same time as Julião textually ascribes slave status to the female alms-collectors for the Festival of the Rosary, this equivalency between blackness and social condition is troubled by his visualization of another black woman (Figure 22). Like the alms-collectors of the Rosary, the black woman pictured below also wears a billowing skirt fixed with a red sash, slippers, a shawl, and a turban combined with a black cap. Moreover, the woman's visual connection with the Rosary brotherhood is suggested by her prominent display of a black rosary above her luxurious yellow and blue cloak. Significantly, the woman also carries around her waist a gray leather or cloth pouch surrounded by colorful amulets that invokes African religious influences. Known as a *bolsa de mandinga*, this talismanic bag would have contained a variety of substances—powders, stones, bones, feathers, hairs, animal skins, Christian orations, liturgical vestments, altar stones, and consecrated Eucharistic wafers—whose

¹¹³ Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 60.

¹¹⁴ Silvia Lara, "Customs and Costumes," 130-131.

combination was expected to provide their bearer/wearer with protection and prosperity.¹¹⁵



Figure 22: Carlos Julião, “Dress of a Black Woman,” ca. 1776. Watercolor drawing, in *Riscos iluminados de figurinhos de brancos e negros dos uzos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio*, Plate 27.

¹¹⁵ The widespread use of *bolsas* in the eighteenth-century Portuguese Atlantic world is explored in Daniela Buono Calainho, *Metrópole das mandingas: Religiosidade negra e Inquisição Portuguesa no Antigo Regime* (Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2008), 159-188. The popularity of *bolsas de mandinga* in the African-Portuguese diaspora is also discussed in Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 179-86.

Though originally associated with West African Muslims, during the late seventeenth-century African slaves, free blacks, and Afro-Portuguese populations in Guinea, Madeira, Cape Verde, and Lisbon also adopted these talismanic pouches.¹¹⁶ As early as 1688, Manuel João, a white Brazilian barber from Maranhão, was tried by the Inquisition for being “superstitious and invoking the devils with words.”¹¹⁷ Included in his trial proceedings is a letter from local Brazilian authorities that lists the contents of the *bolsa* that they confiscated from Manuel and which he had worn, before his arrest, around his neck. The *bolsa* included several packets of paper: one paper was inscribed with a prayer to the Virgin of Montserrat on one side and four marked rules on the other; another with bits of Agnus Dei; two others with a garlic clove and rue branches; and a bone the size of a fingertip which, since its paper wrapping was stained, appeared to be from a freshly deceased person.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ The first documented use of *bolsas* dates from 1606, when Padre Balthazar Barreira, a Portuguese Jesuit in Guinea, described how the Mandingas (Malinkê)—West Africa Muslims—protected themselves by inserting them with passages from the Koran into leather and metal *bolsas* which they carried around their necks and distributed among non-Muslim persons. ANTT, CSJ, Maço 68, No. 119. Cited in Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 181.

¹¹⁷ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, No. 10181. Processo de Manuel João, f. 1r. The religious syncretism of this Inquisition case is discussed in Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 130-131.

¹¹⁸ “[...] hum papel que dizia ser oraçam de Nossa Senhora do Monsterrat, que fora achada no sepulcro de Jerusalém, que livrava de muitos perigos e tinha quatro regras riscadas, e pello parte dessima tinha hum bocado de papel rasgado, assim mais se achou outro papel embrulhado com muitas migalhinhas que mostravam ser de Agnus Dei; hum alho em grão, dous raminhas de arruda, mais hum osso de tamanho de cabeça de hum dedo embrulhado com hum papel que mostrava ser de algum defunto por conto o papel em que estava embrulhado tinha hua nódoa porque pareasia o osso sem brulhado nella fresco.” Ibid. f. 2v.

Despite Manuel's harsh punishment—he was forced to abjure “under vehement suspicion” of heresy, publicly whipped, and sentenced to spiritual penitence, and five years of prison labor in the galleys—*bolsas* remained widely popular in eighteenth-century Brazil and even Portuguese clergymen promoted their use as shields against disease and misfortune. For example, after spending over a decade as a missionary in Pernambuco and Bahia, in 1713 the Portuguese friar Alberto de Santo Tomás, who served as the Vicar-General of the Dominican Order in Brazil, confessed to Inquisitors in Lisbon that he distributed among sick people *bolsas* he made and filled with myrrh, gold dust, wax, salt, rue, and olive leaves—substances he claimed possessed healing virtues.¹¹⁹ Years later, Padre Joseph Mauricio, a priest from the Pernambucan town of Serinhaém, was denounced to the Inquisition for supplying locals with bits of “consecrated particles” for their *bolsas*.¹²⁰ By taking from the sacristy these unspecified blessed items—perhaps chippings of the altar-stone, consecrated wafers, or the purificator [*sanguinho*] cloth used to wipe the chalice during Mass—the priest blatantly disregarded Church edicts on circulating holy items.¹²¹ Notwithstanding the selective embrace of *bolsas* by Catholic

¹¹⁹ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, No. 597. Cited in James Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 62. Frei Luiz Alberto de Santo Tomás's Inquisition proceedings are discussed by Luiz Mott in a 1989 article “Um dominicano feiticeiro em Salvador colonial (1713)” reprinted in *Bahia: Inquisição e sociedade* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2010), 29-40.

¹²⁰ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Cadernos do Promotor, No. 79, Livro 272, ff. 397-39v. Cited in Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*, 63.

¹²¹ The 1707 *Constituições do Arcebispado da Bahia* (governing ecclesiastical laws) reinforced the Council of Trent prohibition against the distribution or sale of Church's ritual objects, specifying that decayed ornaments should be reformed, burned, or buried on church grounds under penalty of fines and

priests, by the first half of the eighteenth-century these syncretic talismans used by black, white, and mixed-race persons throughout the Portuguese Atlantic were increasingly associated with African witchcraft. During the 1720s and 1730s, several black *mandigueros* from Portugal and Brazil were denounced before the Inquisition in Lisbon for making pacts with the Devil to empower their *bolsas*.¹²² These Inquisition cases not only attest to the widespread popularity of the *bolsas de mandinga* but also suggest how their original African significances—like the *calundus*—were transformed by cultural and religious contexts of colonialism and slavery.

Conclusion: Religious Circuits and Material Hybridity in Colonial Brazil

Though images and texts could be used to impose Luso-Brazilian socio-political and religious agendas, this chapter has demonstrated the power of ritual traditions to communicate alternative ideas about power, religion, and race. Just as seventeenth-century European artists and missionaries inscribed cultural alterity within their textual and visual representations of Kongolese Christian elites, Julião attempts to fix perceptions of racial difference by establishing a visual taxonomy of human types. Even as the image's caption, "dress of a black woman," reflects this colonizing objective, the

excommunication. Sebastião Monteiro da Vide, *Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia* (São Paulo: Na Typografia 2 de Dezembro de Antonio Louzada Antune), Book 4, Title 26, 261.

¹²² These Inquisition proceedings not only demonstrate the popularity of *bolsas* among multi-racial populations across the Portuguese Atlantic but also the intimate networks established and maintained by black *mandigueros* in Portugal and Brazil. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*, 182-186; Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross*, 133-138.

hybrid ritual appearance of his visual subject resists this classificatory framing. Like Africans and their descendants who fluidly moved between the roles of client-patrons in sanctioned and unsanctioned religious ceremonies, this Afro-Brazilian female embodies a sacred liminal power that defies European Catholic hegemony while embracing the visual ambiguity of a Christianity linked to African royal power long before the Portuguese colonization. The black woman's *bolsa*, rather than a signification of ethnic or racial identity, suggests that she, like Portuguese elites, embraced a colonial Catholicism that encompassed a broad variety of indigenous, European, and African religious symbols.

Chapter 3. The Saints' Conquest: Imagining Andean Christianity in Cuzco, 1532-1788

O Creator! [Viracocha] who do wonders and things never before seen.

- "An Inca Prayer," ca. 1575¹

Written in Quechua between 1598 and 1608 and edited by the Spanish priest Francisco de Ávila, the anonymous Huarochirí Manuscript chronicles a series of mytho-historical events from the creation of the world to the Spanish invasion of Cajamarca in 1532.² Included in this exceptional indigenous-language source is a dramatic episode

¹ Padre Cristóbal de Molina (ca. 1529-1585), a Spanish priest in Cuzco, included several Inca prayers in original Quechua within an undated manuscript. This English translation comes from Cristóbal de Molina, *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, edited by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith-Oka (Austin: University of Texas Press: 2011), 43. See also: John H. Rowe, "Eleven Inca Prayers from the Zithuwa Ritual," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 8/9 (1953): 82-99.

² Though its exact date remains unknown, the secular priest Francisco de Ávila (1573-1647) who redacted the Huarochirí Manuscript referenced its first seven chapters in a 1608 Spanish-Quechua manuscript currently housed in the National Library in Spain. Francisco de Ávila, *Tratado y relación de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones y ritos diabólicos, en que vivían antiguamente los indios de las provincias de Huaracheri, Mama y Challa, y hoy también viven engañados, con gran perdición de sus almas; recogido por el Dr. Francisco de Ávila, presbítero (cura de la dicha provincia de Huacheri y vicario de las tres arriba dichas). Año de 1608*. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain (hereafter cited as BNE), ms. 3169, ff. 115-130. Ávila's 1608 *Tratado* was first published in English translation by Clements Markham as "A Narrative of the errors, false gods, and other superstitions and diabolical rites in which the Indians of the province of Huarochiri lived in ancient times, by Dr. Francisco de Avila," in *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 123-147. The 2012 bilingual (Quechua-Spanish) edition of the Huarochirí Manuscript first published in 1966 included a facsimile edition of the 1608 *Tratado*. Francisco de Ávila, José María Arguedas, Pierre Duviols, and Roxana Barrantes Cáceres, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Ávila (¿1598?) edición bilingüe* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012), 199-217. The oral nature of the Huarochirí Manuscript's Quechua narration and the challenges of its Spanish translation were first discussed by José María Arguedas. *Ibid.*, 9-15. More recently, colonial historians and literary critics have emphasized the hybrid production of this Quechua-language manuscript including Alan Durston, "Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochirí," *Colonial Latin American Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 227-241; and Laura León Llerena, "Narrating Conversion: Idolatry, the Sacred, and the Ambivalences of Christian Evangelization in Colonial Peru," *Hispanic Issues* 40 (2014): 117-136. For an excellent biographical-historical study of Francisco de Ávila see Antonio Acosta, introductory essay in *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987), 551-616.

recalling how a coastal lord named Cuniraya Viracocha established political kinship ties with the highland Inca ruler of Cuzco, Huayna Capac (1464/68-1525), by sending him his sister as a bride.³ Since Cuniraya's sister lived in the world's lower foundations of *Uru Ticsi*, Cuniraya enlisted the help of a swift, the shaman's fast-flying bird avatar, to transport her in a small trunk across the Andes.⁴ Though he was prohibited from looking at the Inca's gift during his long flight, the shaman's swift was overcome with curiosity and he opened the chest.⁵ As the swift looked at the figure inside—a tiny *señora* dressed in the *collana* clothing of an Inca elite with brilliant hair “like curly gold”—to his astonishment the majestic lady disappeared before his eyes.⁶ Later on, Cuniraya's sister was recovered but the Inca first had to make a new world-order by drawing *ceques* (lines) across the earth's surface before he could see his promised bride.⁷ After the Inca

³ To differentiate the Andean trickster from the Inca emperor [whose name he shared] as well as the pan-Andean deity [of whom he is an avatar], colonial scholars refer to the former as Cuniraya. On the multiplicity of Cuniraya Viracochas in the Andean cosmology see: Paul R. Steele and Catherine J. Allen, *Handbook of Inca Mythology* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 149-151.

⁴ The original Quechua of “*hura ticsiman*” may refer to the underside of the world, its lower foundations, or even a lowland region ruled by Cuniraya. Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas, 1991), 89, footnote 375.

⁵ The shaman asserted his ability to anthropomorphize in the form of a swift so that, on behalf of his coastal ruler Cuniraya, he could fly quickly across disparate geographic regions. Though originary to the *sierra* highlands, the Andean swift also descended to coastal zones. *Ibid.*, 88-90.

⁶ It is important to note that the Spanish noun “*señora*” appears in the original Quechua manuscript suggesting, along with the fact that the bride's hair was blonde, that her appearance prefigured the Spanish invasion of the Andes. *Ibid.*, 89, footnote 381.

⁷ The term *ceque* has a double significance as a “line, boundary, limit” in both practical and ideal space. For example, *ceques* containing the principal huacas of the Inca Empire radiated out from the center of Cuzco across the four quadrants Tawantinsuyu. However, the fact that Cuniraya split the world in halves “likely alludes to the alleged division of the Inca Empire into two at Huayna Capac's death.” *Ibid.* Footnote 382. For a literary analysis of the Huarochiri Manuscript focused on three Andean tricksters who modified the

established this new world-order, Cuniraya opened the chest. And the earth was flooded with lightning.⁸

Even though Andean populations considered lightning a portent of disease, violence, and destruction, the Inca Huayna Capac was so pleased with Cuniraya's gift that he dismissed its negative symbolism, vowing to remain in that place with his beloved new bride and sending a kinsman to govern Cuzco in his stead.⁹ After the conquest, however, indigenous peoples affirmed the lightning had been a harbinger of Inca Huayna Capac's imminent death from smallpox and the Spaniards' arrival in Cajamarca in the middle of violent dynastic wars over succession to the Cuzco throne between his sons, Huascar and Atahualpa.¹⁰ In other words, the lightning-lady transported by the shaman's

world order by deceiving local *huacas* [deities] and people see, Tania Torres Oyarce, "El trickster en el Manuscrito de Huarochirí: los casos de Cuniraya Huiracocha, Huatiacuri y Pariacaca," *Lexis* 39, no. 2 (2015): 317-362.

⁸ The indigenous chronicler Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui narrates a similar story in which the Inca Huayna Capac opened up a *puti* (trunk/parcel) given to him by a messenger and flying butterflies or moths came out of it and disappeared, spreading pestilence (smallpox) across the Andes. See the author's "Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú [1613]" in *Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena*, (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1968), 311. For an early English translation of this 1613 indigenous chronicle, see: Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru," in *Narratives of the Rites And Laws of the Yncas* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873), 67-122.

⁹ Indigenous population considered *illapa* (lightning/thunder/thunderbolt) as the servant of the Sun which they venerated in the Coricancha (the house of the Sun) in Cuzco but which were also considered to mark cursed places that should be sealed from human access, as was the case with the royal palace of the Inca Huayna Capac which was closed with a door of mud and stone after it was struck by lightning. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru Part I* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), Book Two, Chapter 1 "The Idolatry of the second period and its origin," 68-69.

¹⁰ It is worth remarking upon the fact that the original Quechua manuscript refers to the Spanish as *Vira cochacunapas*, though in English translation the word Spanish has been inserted beforehand to avoid their being confused with the person of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha. Ibid., 90. The mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la

swift from the subterranean realm represented a dangerous force whose unveiling produced the violent *pachacuti* or “world-turning” of the Spanish Conquest and its destructive transformation of Andean religion and society.¹¹ While a hybrid text shaped by the editorial oversight of a Catholic priest, nevertheless, the discursive content of the Huarochirí manuscript bears witness to the persistence of Andean cosmological frameworks under Spanish colonialism. Specifically, the manuscript offers up an Andean analytic for interpreting the Spanish Conquest as a cataclysmic episode or *pachacuti* prophesized by both the shaman’s swift and the Inca’s visual encounters with Cuniraya’s miracle-working lightning-lady.¹²

Drawing from textual and visual accounts concerning Manco Inca’s 1536 siege of Cuzco, when indigenous forces attacked the recently-colonized city’s Spanish occupants, this chapter argues that indigenous visual encounters with colonial image-objects

Vega “El Inca” explained that the Spaniards were called Viracochas because the Inca initially believed them to be “the children of their god Viracocha sent from heaven to relieve the Incas and free the city of Cuzco and the whole empire from the tyrannies and cruelties of Atahualpa, as Viracocha himself had done once before when he revealed himself to Prince Inca Viracocha to save him from the Chanca rebellion.” Ibid., Book Five, Chapter 21 “On the name Viracocha, and why it was applied to the Spaniards,” 287.

¹¹ The anthropologist Frank Salomon argues that the “story may be a mythic comment on the loss of Inca sovereignty” as the Inca’s future submission to Spanish colonialism was foreshadowed by his reception of Cuniraya’s gift of the lightning-lady. Salomon and Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, 89. On the Andean concept of *pachacuti* and its application to the Spanish Conquest, see: Sabine MacCormack, “Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru,” *American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (1988): 960-1006.

¹² The shaman’s transformation into a swift suggests he also prophesized the world-turning *pachacuti* visually signified through the lightning-lady as birds, feathers, and flight were symbolically associated with religious specialists’ powers of divination as well as generative transformation. Claudia Broesseder, *The Power of Huacas: Change and Resistance in the Andean World of Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 89-90.

involved a double transformation, one affecting both the viewer and the viewed. Like the lightning-lady's blinding apparition, not only did these image-objects become immaterial by being seen, but they also altered the eyes of the seer, blinding the collective Andean gaze from apprehending their own representative horror as omens of the Spaniards' cosmological violence. This chapter explores literary and artistic representations of the miracles of the Siege of Cuzco (1536) from the earliest Spanish conquistadors' eyewitness accounts through late eighteenth-century paintings produced by indigenous and mestizo artists from the Cuzco School.¹³ By surveying the chronological development of Conquest miracles over the course of two hundred years, I illustrate the way in which historical divergences between European, mestizo, and indigenous visualizations of Christian saints related to the evolving religious and political agendas of their author-artists. I argue that the creation of a hagiographic tradition of Conquest miracles allowed colonial populations—Andean, Spanish, and *mestizo* (mixed-race)—to

¹³ The term “escuela cuzqueña” (Cuzco School) was first coined in the early twentieth-century to refer to the pictorial synthesis between Andean and European artistic traditions that emerged within sixteenth-century painter's workshops in the former Inca capital. In his 1928 publication, *Pintura colonial (Escuela Cuzqueña)*, Felipe Cossío de Pomar, a left-wing Peruvian scholar and indigenista painter, presented a synthetic survey of colonial paintings from the Cuzco School which emphasized the pictorial exchanges between European and indigenous populations expressed through the unique compositional style of painting in Cuzco. Felipe Cossío de Pomar, *Pintura colonial (Escuela Cuzqueña). Nueva edición ilustrada, corregida y aumentada* (Cuzco and Paris: H.G. Rozas Editor, Créte Impresor), 1928. Decades later, the Spanish art historian Martín Soria built on Cossío de Pomar's foundational work by contextualizing the emergence of a Cuzco School pictorial tradition within a broader geographic scope that likewise examined sixteenth-century paintings throughout South America. Martín Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas), 1956. For a recent historiographic overview of the artistic development of the Cuzco School see, Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Una aproximación a la historia de la pintura cuzqueña: De los orígenes a la "era Mollinedo" (1560-1700),” in Ricardo Kusunokia and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, eds., *Pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 19-38.

symbolically identify themselves with the privileged Christian descendants of Inca sovereigns or Spanish conquistadors, those worthy of the Spanish Monarch's favor and protection. Lastly, I contribute to historiographic studies on the development of a *mestizo* imaginary by demonstrating how shifting colonial visions—both perspectives and portrayals—of the Conquest miracle reflected and instrumentalized the desires of vanquished Andeans and Spanish victors.¹⁴

Conflicting Visions: Incas and Christians and the Long Conquest of Cuzco, 1532-1572

Writings produced by Spanish elites in early sixteenth-century Peru bear witness to trans-Atlantic political debates concerning colonialism, slavery, and the forced conversion of native populations that shaped the seventeenth-century emergence a tradition of Conquest miracles shared by Spanish, Andean, and *mestizo* populations. To understand how diverse colonial populations deployed the 1536 Cuzco miracles to signify divergent ideas about cultural privilege and spiritual power, we must first examine the conflicting history of Spanish-Inca relations.

More than a decade before the unexpected death of Huayna Capac ignited dynastic civil wars, the Spanish had already begun exploring the northern coast of Peru.¹⁵

¹⁴ For a theoretical discussion of language, religion, and art forms as historical articulations of a *mestizo imaginaire* (imagination/imaginary) or *mentalité* in which European and Amerindian cultures and perspectives were both transformed through Western colonialism and globalizations, see: Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York: Routledge), 2013.

¹⁵ After their father Huayna Capac died, the young prince Atahualpa was in command of the Inca army in Quito such that his elder brother Huáscar, taking advantage of the latter's absence and garnering support of

In November 1532, in the wake of the Inca Atahualpa's military defeat of his brother Huáscar, a Spanish embassy headed by Francisco Pizarro met with the victorious Inca in Cajamarca.¹⁶ Along with Dutch linens and Venetian goblets to be gifted to the Inca sovereign, the Spanish brought with them a legal document—the 1512 Spanish *requerimiento*—which, read aloud, enacted the Crown's political and spiritual dominion over the Inca's Empire as had been granted by the Pope.¹⁷ Following a series of protracted battles with Inca soldiers leading up to the imprisonment, ransom, and eventual execution of the Inca Atahualpa, in 1533 a triumphant Pizarro entered Cuzco where, on behalf of the Spanish Crown, he took possession of the former Inca capital.¹⁸

thehouses [*panacas*] of Cuzco's Inca nobility, took possession of the imperial seat in Cuzco. With the support of a professional army led by three generals—Chalcuchima, Quisquis, and Rumiñavi—Atahualpa defeated Huascar in a battle outside of Cuzco. Afterwards, his three generals set of to exterminate Huascar's remaining supporters in Cuzco, Jauja, and Quito. John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970), 28-29. John H. Rowe, "The Inca Civil War and the Establishment of Spanish Power in Peru," *Ñawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology* 28 (2006): 1-9.

¹⁶ This early episode of Spanish-Inca encounter that preceded the violent conquest wars has received much scholarly attention. For a recent analysis which highlights alternative understandings of the historical episode in Cajamarca, see: Gonzalo Lamana, *Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 26-64.

¹⁷ On the 1512 *requerimiento* as a legal document/ritual speech that asserted the Crown's legitimate authority over the New World with reference to papal bulls and threatened to launch a "just war" to subjugate non-submissive (re: infidel) populations, see: Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 69-99.

¹⁸ Though in 1529, Pizarro boasted the royal title of Governor and Capitan-General of Peru, the geopolitical designation 'Peru' is markedly absent in documents referring to its conquest. Historian Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs discusses the historical contingencies between the political invention of "Peru" and the symbolic iconography of heraldic devices included in the Spanish conquistadors' petitions to the Crown for the political privilege of individual coat-of-arms in his article, "Autorretrato del conquistador como vencido o la invención del Perú: la aparición del inca y de sus atributos políticos en las representaciones plásticas, 1526-1548," *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 1 (2010): 151-205.

Back in Spain, however, Pizarro's hasty slaughter of Atahualpa ignited theological and juridical debates concerning the Crown's "just title" over the Indies. Given that the transference of sovereignty, *translatio imperii*, implied the submission of one monarch to another, Atahualpa's death left a political vacuum to be filled. As such, under Pizarro's patronage, in 1534 members of the Inca nobility inaugurated Manco Inca—the youngest son of the Inca Huayna Capac—as the newly-reigning Inca.¹⁹ After a month of ceremonious feasts, sacrificial libations, and sung recitations commemorating the heroic conquests of his Inca predecessors, Manco Inca was carried on a litter to the central plaza of Huacaypata and seated on a gold *ushnu* (stepped throne) beside the mummy of his father Huayna Capac. Before Spanish and Inca witnesses, Manco Inca swore an oath of allegiance to the Spanish Crown and "the men of that land gave him obedience according to their usage, recognizing him as their lord and offering him the white plume" that signaled his status as their Inca sovereign.²⁰

While the visual presence of Inca mummies during the Inca's ceremonial crowning with the *mascaypacha* (Inca royal fringe) established political and ritual continuity, Manco Inca's royal coronation belied longstanding rivalries concerning Inca

¹⁹ Spanish eyewitnesses at Manco Inca's 1534 coronation, including Francisco Pizarro's secretary Pedro Sancho, highlighted how, following Inca traditions, Manco Inca's investiture included the presence of the chief priest of the Sun, the Inca's principal deity, as well as the participation of his deceased Inca predecessors, who acted through their mummified proxies. For example, after Manco Inca fasted in seclusion for three days in his father Huayna Capac's palace, he also went delivered an oration to the sun in the Coricancha, the principal Inca temple. Pedro Sancho, *An Account of the Conquest of Perú*, translated by Philip Ainsworth Means, (New York: Cortes Society, 1917), 111.

²⁰ Miguel de Estete, "Noticia del Perú, [1535?]" in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, 2d ser., vol. 8* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1924), 54-56.

dynastic succession readily manipulated by the Spanish newcomers.²¹ Despite their previous military alliance with Manco Inca to defeat the surviving supporters of Atahualpa and Huáscar, the Spanish conquistadores questioned the Inca's loyalty and imprisoned him several times.²² Responding to these flagrant abuses of his political sovereignty, in 1535 Manco Inca organized an army of native chiefs to expel the Spanish invaders from his kingdom of Tawantinsuyu. Between May 1536 and April 1537, Manco Inca's rebel forces—including some 100,000 indigenous warriors proceeding from various nearby provinces—laid siege to the Spanish occupied-capital of Cuzco. Despite the Inca's numerical advantage over the Spanish and their indigenous allies, the Inca's rebel forces were eventually defeated, and in 1537 Manco Inca retreated to the tropical lowlands of Vilcabamba to form a neo-Inca state that would persist until 1572.²³

Three years after Manco Inca's siege, a Spanish conquistador who fought on behalf of Pizarro's army framed the Spaniards' victory over the rebel Inca as a watershed

²¹ Just as Atahualpa and his brother Huáscar had previously fought over succession to their father Huayna Capac's throne in Cuzco, Manco Inca's succession was politically controversial. Being aligned with the factions of the Inca Huáscar he was also pitted against the last surviving legitimate son of Huayna Capac, Paullu Inca. The Spanish conquistador Diego de Almagro had even lent military support to Manco Inca by sending a contingent of men to assassinate his brother and rival, Atoc-Sopa. George Kubler, "A Peruvian Chief of State: Manco Inca (1515-1545)," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 2 (1944): 253-276.

²² Moreover, the conquistadores not only looted the Inca temples of Cuzco but also took native women of royal Inca blood including Manco Inca's wife, the *coya* (queen) Cura Ocllo.

²³ Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas*, 184-213; and George Kubler, "The Neo-Inca State (1537-1572)," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 27, no. 2 (1947): 189-200

moment that led up to the eventual pacification and Christian conversion of Peru.²⁴ By describing how, prior to attacking the Spaniards in Cuzco, the Inca presented sacrificial offerings of sheep and pigeons to the Sun and Moon, the anonymous soldier suggested that Manco Inca not only rebelled against the Crown but also directly offended the Christian God through his “idolatrous” practices.²⁵ Even without mentioning any specific miracles, the anonymous conquistador affirms that the Spaniards’ victory over the indigenous armies of Manco Inca was providential because “it appeared as if, miraculously, God had fought for them.”²⁶ Similarly, in a 1539 letter to the Spanish Monarch the newly-appointed first bishop of Cuzco, Friar Vicente de Valverde (1498-1541) also affirmed that the Spanish Conquest of Peru was a providential mission to convert native populations into Christian vassals.²⁷ Moreover, he argued that when

²⁴ The anonymous author, who formed part of Francisco Pizarro’s military contingent, may have been the Spanish conquistador Miguel de Estete. Horacio Urteaga, “Prólogo. Sitio del Cuzco por Manco II (1535),” in *Relación del Sitio del Cuzco y principio de las guerras civiles del Perú hasta la muerte de Diego de Almagro (1535-1539)* (Lima: Librería e imprenta Gil, 1934), iii-xxii. On the wide circulation of the 1539 *Relación* among literary publics in sixteenth-century Peru, see: Oscar Coello and Diego de Silva y Guzmán, *Los orígenes de la novela castellana en el Perú—La Toma del Cuzco (1539): fuentes, estudio crítico y textos* (Lima: Academia Peruana de la Lengua), 2008.

²⁵ Anonymous (Pizarro), *Relación del Sitio del Cuzco*, 26. The Spanish jurist Polo de Ondegardo (1500-1575) likewise describes how the Inca commemorated the beginning of each new lunar cycle by offering sacrifices to the Sun on pillars constructed on the site where it was predicted the sun would pass over during that month of the year. “Los errores y supersticiones de los Indios, sacadas del tratado y auerigacion que hizo el Licenciado Polo (1571),” (Lima: Sanmarti y Ca, 1916), 18.

²⁶ “No parecía sino que, milagrosamente, Dios peleaba por ellos...porque ya sabéis que con el esfuerzo se alcanza lo que parece imposible.” Anonymous (Pizarro). *Relación del Sitio del Cuzco [1539]*, 13, 17.

²⁷ The Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde was appointed the first bishop of Cuzco along with the title of “Protector y defensor de los naturales” (“Protector and Defender of the Indians”) on January 8, 1537. For a brief biographic sketch of Cuzco’s first bishop, see: Julio Santisteban Ochoa, “Fray Vicente Valverde, protector de los indios, y su obra,” *Revista de Letras* 1, no. 2 (1948): 117-182. Fray Vicente de Valverde’s 1539 letter was first published in 1865, as “Carta de Obispo del Cuzco al emperador sobre asuntos de su

fighting against the Manco Inca's forces in Cuzco, the Spanish conquistadores demonstrated their loyal service to the Spanish Monarch as they were "determined to die before showing any sign of weakness" such that they were worthy of receiving *encomiendas* or royal grants of indigenous labor and tribute.²⁸ At the same time as the *encomienda* served the economic interests of the Spanish conquistadors, the Dominican Bishop implied that the institution could also further the Crown's political and religious mission to incorporate colonized native population within Spanish Christian society.²⁹

Neither the Spanish soldier nor the Dominican bishop mentions any specific miracles of conquest in their 1539 accounts. However, in their Spanish chronicles written during the 1550s, Pedro de Cieza de León (ca. 1518-1554) and Juan de Betanzos (1510-1576) and credited the providential intercession of Christian saints with ensuring the Spaniards' triumph over the rebel forces of Manco Inca. Moreover, both chroniclers emphasized how indigenous eyewitnesses visualized the Apostle Saint James and the

iglesia y otros de la gobernación general de aquel país, [1539]" in Luis Torres de Mendoza et al, *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía sacadas en su mayor parte del Real Archivo de las Indias*, vol. III, (Madrid: Librería de la Viuda de Rico, 1865), 92-137. For a more recent edition, see: Fray Vicente de Valverde, *Carta relación de Fray Vicente Valverde a Carlos V sobre la conquista del Perú (1539)*, (Lima: Ediciones Universidad Nacional de Educación) 1969.

²⁸ The original Spanish reads, "los españoles...iban determinados de morir antes que mostrar punto de flaqueza." BNE, Mss/3101. "Copia de la Carta que Fr. Vicente de Valverde, Obispo del Cuzco, escribió al señor Emperador Carlos V en las revueltas de aquel Reyno, Cuzco, 2 de abril de 1539," fol. 90.

²⁹ The Spanish institution of *encomienda* is best measured in terms of native labor obligations. Spanish *encomenderos* (trustees) relied upon Andean lords (*curacas*) to organize indigenous labor and collect tribute. *Encomiendas* with large populations, however, could be dismembered and administered by the *curaca's* lieutenant or *segunda persona*, as well as other native lords or *principales*.

Virgin Mary in their accounts written nearly twenty years after the events. How might these image-saturated hagiographies of Conquest bear witness to the shifting colonial agendas of authors and audiences?³⁰

The cultural production of the Spanish chronicler Juan de Betanzos suggests how the miracles of the Conquest performed a colonizing function, one that dialogued with trans-Atlantic debates concerning the position of Indians within the Spanish colonial society. Arriving in Peru around 1534, Betanzos quickly garnered social acclaim not for his linguistic abilities and strategic marriage with a wealthy Inca noblewoman.³¹ As a religious translator for the Dominican Order, Betanzos produced evangelical letters and grammars in Quechua that furthered the Church's missionary enterprise in Peru.³² At the same time, he also labored on behalf of Governor of Peru Cristóbal Vaca de Castro

³⁰ My historical analysis of a hagiographic cycle of "Conquest" miracles builds upon Pierre Duviols' foundational article "Les traditions miraculeuses du siège du Cuzco (1536) et leur fortune littéraire," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 41 (1962): 393-400, by including an analysis of Betanzos' chronicle. Moreover, I also owe a scholarly debt to Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuch's historical analysis of the fashioning of the Cuzco miracles to incorporate European, indigenous, and mestizo cultural perspectives as demonstrated in his article, "Construyendo la memoria: la figura del inca y el reino del Perú, de la conquista a Túpac Amaru II," in *Los Incas: Reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2005), 93-173.

³¹ Around 1544, Betanzos married Cuxirimay Ocllo/ Doña Angelina Yupanqui, a wealthy Inca noblewoman who was both the former consort of the Inca Atahualpa and the widow of Francisco Pizarro. For an historical analysis of strategic marriages between female members of the Inca nobility and Spanish elites during the early colonial period, see: Sara Vicuña Guengerich, "Capac Women and the Politics of Marriage in Early Colonial Peru," *Colonial Latin American Review* 24 no.2 (2015): 147-167.

³² On Betanzos' evangelical activities as relates to his service as a Quechua translator for the Dominicans in both Lima and Cuzco see: Nicanor Domínguez Faura, "El cronista Betanzos y sus primeras cartillas de evangelización en la lengua general del inga (1536-1542)" in Gabriela Ramos, ed., *La venida del reino: religión, evangelización y cultura en América. Siglos XVI-XXI* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, 1994), 65-74. For an analysis of Betanzos' assistance in translating the accounts of the *quipucamayos* in Cuzco, see the above author's article, "Betanzos y los quipucamayos en la época de Vaca de Castro (Cuzco, 1543)," *Revista Andina* 46 (2008):155-192.

(1492-1566) translating Quechua accounts from Cuzco's surviving *quipucamayocs* [the cord-keepers].³³

In his most famous work, *Suma y Narración de los Incas* [*Narrative of the Incas*] published in 1551, Betanzos presented the first account of the miracles of Manco Inca's 1536 siege to affirm the Crown's political and spiritual authority over colonized populations and to challenge the power of the Spanish *conquistadores-encomenderos*. Setting the stage for the first theophany, Betanzos described how, after the Inca captains burned all the towns surrounding Cuzco, the Spanish were quartered, without access to food and provisions, within the city's plaza. While the Spaniards were inside an Inca structure converted into a Christian church, the Inca squadrons launched their firebrands and igniting a small portion of the building's straw roof. However, when the indigenous captains approached the church to kill its Spanish occupants they were confronted with an astonishing vision: "The Indians said that, when they came... a Spanish lady dressed all in white... put out the fire with some long, white pieces of cloth she had." Rather than a singular visual encounter, these indigenous sightings persisted during the entire siege as

³³ The *quipucamayocs* were the official "keepers of the knots" who kept account of Inca tribute and also served as historians of the Inca lineage vis-a-vis their *quipus*—a knotted string-device used to register information. On Andean literacy during colonial times see: John A. Yeakel, "The accountant-historians of the Incas," *The Accounting Historians Journal* 10, no. 2 (1983): 39-51; Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, "Escritura alfabética y literacidades amerindias: fundamentos para una historiografía colonial andina," *Revista andina* 34 (2002): 237-252; and Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers: Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 23-40.

“*they always saw* this lady seated atop this church.”³⁴ Like the Spanish lady, another celestial figure that defended the Spanish “Christians” in Cuzco also appeared before indigenous eyewitnesses.

They say they also saw a man on a white horse fully armed and with a long, white beard preceding the Christians *whenever* they left the city to do battle. He had on his chest a red cross similar to the habit of Santiago the marquis wore on his chest. This, they say, was the spirit of the marquis leading his men. They saw that he created so much dust with the horse he rode that they were blinded and unable to fight. And so the Christians defeated them.³⁵

Perhaps inferring that during the 1536 siege native peoples would have been unfamiliar with the Christian saints, Betanzos does not name the two celestial figures. However, European audiences would have readily inferred their identities as the Virgin Mary and the Apostle Saint James given their distinctively Spanish appearances. The Virgin appeared like “a Spanish lady” wearing a white dress and Saint James, like the *marquis* Francisco Pizarro, exhibited on his chest a red cross that signified his membership in the Spanish Military Order of Santiago. Moreover, the Apostle Saint James’ appearance in Cuzco would have been understood as a continuation of his

³⁴ Juan de Betanzos, Roland Hamilton, and Dana Buchanan, *Narrative of the Incas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 290. Emphasis my own. According to Betanzos, Manco Inca’s siege of Cuzco lasted between thirteen and fourteen months.

³⁵ Emphasis my own. Ibid.

previous military intervention on behalf of the Christians against Muslims during the Iberian *Reconquista* (23).³⁶



Figure 23: (L) Anonymous Antwerp School. “King Sapor of Persia humiliating emperor Valerian. Portrait of Emperor Charles V” ca. 1515-1525. Oil on panel. 36.8 x 28.6 cm. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts. (R) Triumphal Arch of Carlos V designed by Giulio Romano.” Woodcut in Giovanni Alberto Albicante, *Trattato del intrar in Milano di Carlo V Cesare sempre Aug.* (Milan: Apud Andream Calvum), 1541.³⁷

By describing the apparition of Saint James during battles between conquistadors and indigenous peoples, Betanzos underscored the legendary *Reconquista* saint’s symbolic status as an archetype of Spanish imperialism symbolically associated in paintings, prints, and architecture with the Spanish Emperor Carlos V and Christian

³⁶ During the 9th century Iberian *Reconquista*, the Apostle Saint James had famously interceded on behalf of the Spanish King Ramiro I to garner the Christians’ victory over Muslim soldiers at the Battle of Clavijo.

³⁷ Image Sources: (L) Worcester Art Museum, *European Paintings in the Collections of the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester: The Museum, 1974), 156 n. 4. Accession Number 1934.64. (R) Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA. Internet Archive, 2008. ID/Accession Number 2893-040.

triumph over infidels in the Old World (Turks and Berbers) and “pagan” Amerindians in the New World.

Like Betanzos, in his 1553 *Crónica del Perú* [Chronicle of Peru], the Spanish explorer-chronicler Pedro Cieza de León also referred to Saint James miraculous intervention on behalf of the Spanish colonizers by emphasizing indigenous eyewitnessing of the Cuzco miracles. For example, ventriloquizing indigenous testimony, he describes how the Apostle Saint James appeared before the Indians in Cuzco, explaining that “some of them even affirm, that *they saw* on some occasions, that *whenever* they were fighting with the Spaniards, that beside them a celestial figure walked, causing them great damage.”³⁸

Though he may have interviewed native populations who survived the 1536 siege, Cieza de León’s reference to indigenous eyewitnesses was more than a rhetorical strategy. By describing native peoples’ visualizations of the Conquest miracles, he directly dialogued with broader religious and spiritual debates that crossed the Atlantic World. As Catholic missionaries and Spanish jurists argued over indigenous populations’ humanity and rationality, Cieza de León affirmed that indigenous populations who *saw* the “celestial figure” on the battlegrounds of Cuzco readily apprehended the Christian

³⁸ Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], Fol. V. “Pues algunos dellos mismos afirman, que via algunas vezes, quando andauan peleando con los Españoles, que junto ellos andaba una figura celestial que en ellos hazia gran daño.” Emphasis my own.

power of the Spanish saint.³⁹ Contrasting with indigenous populations' direct visions of the Christian saint, Cieza de León limits the Spanish conquistadors' direct visual experiences of the Cuzco miracles. Even though the Virgin Mary does make herself visible to indigenous peoples, the Spanish chronicler leads his readers to believe that only divine intervention could explain why the Inca's firebrands failed to burn the church's straw roof.

*And the Christians saw that the Indians lit the city on fire, and it burned in many parts, and set on the church, that is what the Indians desired to see laid to waste, three times they lit it on fire, and each time it extinguished itself, and as many in Cuzco who informed me of this say, that where they lit the fire there was only dry straw and not any mixture.*⁴⁰

By strategically distancing the Spanish conquistadores from directly seeing the Cuzco miracles, the Spanish chronicler limits their historical agency during the Conquest to imply his political support of the Crown's abolishment of the perpetuity of the *encomiendas*. Like Betanzos and Cieza de León, the Jesuit priest Joseph de Acosta (1540-1600) also challenged Spanish conquistadores' political claims to indigenous labor in remuneration for their military exploits by emphasizing the visible intervention of

³⁹ The providential apparition of Santiago during the conquest of Peru was paralleled in New Spain as reflected in the chronicles of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Francisco López de Gómara among others. For an examination of the miracles of Santiago during the Conquest of New Spain, see: Harold Hernández Lefranc, "El trayecto de Santiago Apóstol de Europa al Perú," *Investigaciones Sociales* 10, no. 16 (2006): 62-73.

⁴⁰ Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú* [1553], Fol. V. "Y vieron los Christianos que los Indios pusieron fuego a la ciudad, el cual ardió por muchas partes, y emprendiendo en la yglesia, que era lo que desseauan los Indios ver deshecho, tres vezes la encendieron, y tantas se apagó de suyo, a dicho de muchos que en el mismo Cuzco de llo me informaron, siendo donde el fuego ponían paja seca sin mezla ninguna." Emphasis my own.

Christian saints in Peru and in New Spain. In his monumental *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Natural and Moral History of the Indies), published in 1590, Acosta argues that the Spanish Crown's providential mission to expand Christianity throughout the hemisphere was evidenced through visual miracles.⁴¹ For example, in a chapter titled, "Of Some Miracles that God has Performed in the Indies in Favor of the Faith, Beyond the Merits of Those who brought them to Pass," Acosta not only minimized the military contributions of the Spanish conquistadores but also emphasized how the Conquest miracles were directly observed by indigenous populations. Paraphrasing Betanzos, Acosta describes how the Virgin Mary protected the Spanish in Cuzco by appearing before the Indians to put out the church fire, writing:

In the city of Cuzco, when the Spaniards were surrounded and so hard pressed that it seemed impossible to escape without Heaven's aid, persons worthy of belief, from whom I heard it myself, tell that after the Indians had shot fire onto the roof of the place where the Spaniards dwelled (which was where the principal church is now), although the roof was made of a kind of straw called *chicho* there and the bundles of resinous wood they used were very large, the roof never caught fire nor was anything burned, for a lady who was on the upper roof quickly put out the fire; and this the Indians *saw* themselves, and told of it with great amazement.⁴²

⁴¹ José de Acosta, Jane E. Mangan, Walter D. Mignolo, and Frances M. López-Morillas, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2002.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 443.

Significantly, Acosta also suggests how indigenous visual encounters with miracle-working saints served to consolidate their Christian conversion.⁴³ For example, he writes that “at other times the image of Our Lady was *seen* in such battles, and the Christians in those parts have received incomparable benefits from her.” By describing how the enigmatic “lady” on the church roof continued to make herself visible to Indians as the Virgin “Our Lady,” the Jesuit priest thus implies that indigenous peoples not only identified her celestial power but also readily submitted to the Spaniards’ Christianity.

Like the Virgin Mary, the Apostle Saint James also appeared before the Indians to demonstrate his military support of the Crown’s providential mission to expand Christianity through conquest and colonization. According to Acosta, in both New Spain and Peru “the enemy Indians saw in the air a knight on a white horse with a sword in hand, fighting with the Spaniards.” Moreover, Acosta infers that the Spanish patron saint’s intervention during the Conquest battles not only fostered devotion of the Spanish colonizers but also the colonized natives by asserting that “the veneration in which the glorious apostle Santiago was held in the Indies has always been, and still is, so great.”⁴⁴

In his account of the Conquest miracles, Acosta suggests that the Spanish conquistadores were merely auxiliaries of God’s emissaries—the Virgin Mary and Saint James—who, by visually appearing before indigenous populations in both Peru and New

⁴³ For a survey of Acosta’s career as a missionary in Peru, including his time in Cuzco during the 1570s as the head of the recently-founded Jesuit College, see: Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 249-280.

⁴⁴ Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 443-444.

Spain exhibited their celestial power while furthering the Crown's spiritual mission to extend Christianity throughout the hemisphere. Despite their differing narrative foci, Betanzos, Cieza de León, and Acosta underscore how indigenous populations visualized the 1536 miracles—a doubly significant inclusion. By referring to anonymous native eyewitnesses they prevent their historical accounts from being questioned or fact-checked while imputing spiritual authority to Andean who *saw* the Christian saints. Indigenous peoples not only gazed upon the celestial brilliance of the Virgin and Saint James but were transformed by their visual experiences of their sacred power. In other words, the Cuzco miracles not only reflected but also instrumentalized the saints' visual power in a dialectical process of Christian conversion in which the natives' sensory blindness produced spiritual illumination or sight-as-belief. Rather than to mute actors or passive recipients, the Inca armies were privileged eyewitnesses and spiritual agents capable of *perceiving* the miracle's truth as it was revealed before their collective Andean eyes.⁴⁵

These sixteenth-century accounts thus instrumentalized indigenous memory to fashion a tradition of Conquest miracles in the colonial present, one in which the vanquished Indians were essential to the continuation of Spanish Christian society. The invention of a tradition of Conquest miracles thus depended upon indigenous

⁴⁵ My reading of Betanzos and Cieza draws from but expands upon the historiographic development of the miracles of Cuzco explored in David Emmanuel Franco Córdova, "La memoria del triunfo: Los milagros en el sitio del Cuzco y la construcción del discurso religioso sobre la conquista de los incas (1536-1664)," Tesis de Licenciatura en Historia, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (Lima: Peru, 2010), 101-124.

interlocutors because for the colonial miracle “to be acceptable and effective...it had to be enunciated and recognized by the vanquished.”⁴⁶ Through their invocation of native testimony in the plural form—*some of them*—all three Spanish chroniclers produce a cohesive narrative in which indigenous heterogeneity is converted into a singular *gaze* reflecting the colonizer’s optic. In other words, they invent a miracle account in which the vanquished Indian is the metonym for colonial desires.

Colonizing Visions: (Re)Constructing the Cuzco Miracles

While Betanzos, Cieza de León, and Acosta deployed the Cuzco miracles to signify indigenous conversion, the Spanish jurist Juan de Matienzo (1520-1579) used the Conquest miracles in his 1567 legal treatise, *Gobierno del Perú* [The Government of Peru] to defend the Spanish Crown’s “just title” over the Indies.⁴⁷ Marshalling juridical and political arguments, Matienzo claimed that the Crown’s possession of Peru was not only legitimized by papal concession but also commissioned by God so that the Spaniards’ could liberate native populations from tyrannical Incas.⁴⁸ By proclaiming that

⁴⁶ The original Spanish reads, “El milagro colonial...para ser aceptable y eficaz, debía ser enunciado y reconocido por el vencido.” Estenssoro Fuchs, “Construyendo la memoria,” 114.

⁴⁷ Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú* [1567], (Buenos Aires: Univ. Nacional de. Instituto de Investigaciones históricas) 1910.

⁴⁸ On May 4, 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the papal bull “*Inter Caetera*” which granted King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain temporal jurisdiction over all territories defined by a meridian line “one hundred leagues toward the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde” along with the responsibility to evangelize the inhabitants of all lands under its sovereignty. With Christopher Columbus’ 1493 “discovery” of Cuba and Hispaniola (Haiti/Dominican Republic), disputes between the Catholic Monarchs of Castile, Aragon, and Asturias and the Portuguese King João II prompted the development of the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas which delineated that all territories east of an imaginary latitudinal line (drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verdes, just off the coast of West Africa)

the Spanish Conquest had benefitted the Indians, liberating them from oppressive Incas and bestowing upon them with the “good” of the true Christian religion, Matienzo also justified the royal institution of the *encomienda* as a mechanism to support the Crown’s maintenance of its colonial possessions. The Spanish *encomenderos* were thus agents of the Crown’s religious mission. As the “protectors” of the Indians, the Spaniards were entitled to indigenous tribute that would cover the cost of Catholic evangelization and thus support the Crown’s control over its colonial vassals.⁴⁹

According to Matienzo, “[...] God was served that that Kingdom would be won [by Spain] so that those tyrants would be punished or so that those barbarous people would not remain perpetually forgotten, which were signaled by...the miracles that occurred before those peoples.”⁵⁰ Moreover, he affirmed that through their visualizations of the Christian saints, the colonized Indians also recognized the superiority of the Spaniards’ religion, writing: “it *had* to be the Apostle Saint James, the defender of our Spain, sent by God so that the Indians would be vanquished, and so...they would receive the good [Christianity] that Our Lord had destined for them, which *they themselves* now

were the exclusive dominion of Portugal and all lands west were under the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown.

⁴⁹ Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, Ch. 12, 29.

⁵⁰ “[...] fué dios servido que aquel Reyno se ganase por que aquellos tiranos fuessen castigados ó por que no quedasse aquella gente barbara perpetuamente olvidada, señales de ello...los milagros que acaescieron en la población.” Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú* [1567], Ch. 2, 13.

recognize.”⁵¹ In other words, God had offered a divine stamp of approval for the Crown’s Conquest of Peru by sending Christian saints to favor the Spaniards’ military victory whose spiritual power had been *seen* and thus recognized by the subjugated Incas.



Figure 24: The visual symbolism of Carlos V’s funerary cortege in Brussels which included a riderless horse and the royal standard with images of Saint James and the Virgin Mary. Watercolor illustration from *A magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funèbre faite aus obseques et funérailles du trèsgrand et trèsvictorieux empereur Charles cinquième*. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1559.⁵²

⁵¹ Emphasis mine. “[...] debió ser el Apóstol Santiago, abogado de nuestra España, enviado por Dios para que los indios fuesen vencidos...recibiendo el bien que Nuestro Señor les tenia aparejado, y que ellos mesmos agora reconocen.” Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú* [1567], (Lima:Institut français d’études andines, 1967), 13-14. Cited in Estenssoro, “Construyendo la memoria,” 116.

⁵² Image Source : *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (hereafter BNF), Département Réserve des livres rares, RES-OC-1661. gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. Digital Object : ark:/12148/bpt6k310602f.

By referring to the Santiago's miracle in Cuzco, Matienzo drew from the crusading saint's intimate association with the Habsburg Emperor Carlos V who had "conquered" the Indies. The visual conflation of Carlos V with Saint James was further cemented across the Spanish Empire in 1558, as civic authorities organized funerary processions in honor of the deceased monarch that included Spanish nobles leading a riderless horse bearing Carlos V's motto "Plus Ultra" and carrying his royal standard displaying images of the "glorious Apostle Santiago patron saint of Spain" and the Virgin Mary (Figure 24).⁵³

While Matienzo channeled the miracle of Saint James during Manco Inca's 1536 siege to signify the Spanish Crown's legitimate possession of Peru, the last Inca ruler of Vilcabamba Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui (ca. 1530–1571) argued that the Spaniard's patron saint visually expressed Andean celestial power.⁵⁴ After his 1566 surrender of the neo-Inca state of Vilcabamba, in 1571 Titu Cusi sent the Governor of Peru an *Instrucción* [set of guidelines] in which he petitioned the Crown for a series of

⁵³ The original Spanish text reads "de la una parte la bienaventurada Virgen maria con su preciosos hijo en brazos y de la otra el glorioso apóstol Santiago patrón despaña." Cited in "Relación de las Exequias que en la ciudad de los Reyes se hizieron por S. M. el Emperador Carlos V. Los Reyes, 12 de noviembre de 1559" in Víctor M. Barriga, *Los Mercedarios en el Perú en el siglo XVI: documentos del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, 1525-1580* (Arequipa: Establecimientos Gráficos La Colmena, 1939), Vol. II, 209.

⁵⁴ The Titu Cusi Yupanqui's 1570 manuscript is titled in Spanish *Instrucción al licenciado don Lope García de Castro* and well as *Relacion de como los espanolesentraron al Piru y el subceso que tubo Mango Ynga en el tiempo que entre ellos bivio*. This manuscript included a power of attorney for don Lope de Castro to represent his interests in Spain. For a recent discussion of this classic indigenous account, see: Beatriz Carolina Peña, "Un alarido que horada los cerros: La *Relacion* [1570] de Titu Cusi Yupanqui," in *Historia de las literaturas en el Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 2017), Vol. I, 339-336.

royal concessions in exchange for his political submission. As it was first delivered in oral Quechua before the Augustinian friar Marcos García (who translated it into Spanish) and later transcribed and redacted by the Spanish scribe Martín Pando, the narrative content of Titu Cusi's *Instrucción* reflects its hybrid production.⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the discursive influence of multiple agents, Titu Cusi's *Instrucción* provides a privileged historical framework for understanding how one royal Inca viewed the Spanish conquistadors as usurping the kingdoms of Peru from its legitimate Inca sovereigns.⁵⁶

Starkly contrasting with the Spanish jurist Matienzo's description of the Inca's as illegitimate sovereigns, the Inca asserted that his father Manco Capac's political authority was recognized by indigenous populations.⁵⁷ Textually performing his Inca sovereignty, Titu Cusi introduced himself as "one of the natural lords that used to rule these kingdoms

⁵⁵ For a classic study of Titu Cusi's view of the Spanish Conquest, see Edmundo Guillén Guillén, "Titu Cusi Yupanqui y su tiempo, El estado imperial inca y su trágico final: 1572." *Historia y Cultura* no. 13-14 (1981): 61-99. Titu Cusi's chronicle has been analyzed in terms of a discourse of indigenous resistance, see: Raquel Chang-Rodriguez, "Writing as Resistance: Peruvian History and the Relación of Titu Cusi Yupanqui." In *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of Early Colonial Period* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982), 41-64.

⁵⁶ A constant refrain within Titu Cusi's account of the Spanish conquest is his father's legitimacy as Inca and thus, his own noble lineage, which he references over twenty times. See: Edmundo Guillén Guillén, "Documentos inéditos para la historia de los Incas de Vilcabamba: La capitulación del gobierno español con Titu Cusi Yupanqui," *Historia y Cultura* 10 (1977): 73-80.

⁵⁷ Matienzo was also involved in diplomatic negotiations between the last Inca ruler of Vilcabamba, and the Spanish interim Governor of Peru, Lope García de Castro (1516-1576). Besides signaling the Inca's political surrender to the Spanish Crown, the Treat of Acobamba signed by Titu Cusi Yupanqui and representatives of the Spanish viceroy on August 24, 1566 permitted missionaries to enter the neo-Inca stronghold and catechize its indigenous populations. See: Catherine Julien, "Francisco de Toledo and His Campaign against the Incas," *Colonial Latin American Review* 16 (2007): 243-272.

and provinces of Peru.”⁵⁸ Situating his hereditary succession as Inca ruler within European dynastic frameworks, the Inca ordered the Spanish King be informed of his status as “the one legitimate son, meaning, the eldest and firstborn, among the many sons whom my father Manco Inca Yupanqui left behind.”⁵⁹ Moreover, Titu Cusi also deployed Christian understandings of justice as well as Andean concepts of reciprocity to contrast the abuses of Spanish conquistadors with the generosity of his father Manco Inca.

According to Titu Cusi, the Incas welcomed the Spaniards whom they saw as divine emissaries of their Andean creator-deity Viracocha and thus “they called them Viracochas because of their stately appearance.”⁶⁰ Moreover, since the Indians “saw them using *yllapas*” believing that the fiery retort of the Spaniards’ guns “made came from the sky,” the Spanish newcomers’ appeared to demonstrate the synaesthetic power of the Andean divinity *yllapa* [thunder, lightning, and lightning bolt].⁶¹ However, the conquistadores’ insatiable greed for gold, silver, indigenous women and personal servants quickly disabused the Incas of seeing them as celestial emissaries of Viracocha. Rather

⁵⁸ On the discussion of Inca genealogy in relation to Titu Cusi Yupanqui account, see Ralph Bauers “Introduction” to *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*, (Sebastopol: University Press of Colorado, 2011), especially pages 31-41.

⁵⁹ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru* (Sebastopol: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 57-59.

⁶⁰ The coastal Tallanas people warned the Inca Manco Capac in Cuzco of the arrival of the Spanish in Cajamarca, saying “Sapai Inca (which means “you, our sole lord”), we have come to tell you that a new sort of people [*género de gente*] has arrived in your land, a race that has never been heard of or seen before by our nations and that without doubt appears to be that of the Viracochas (which means “gods”). *Ibid.*, 63.

⁶¹ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*, 60.

than behaving as Christians, the Spaniards mistreated Manco Inca so that the latter demonized them by calling them the “servants of *supai*, doing evil.”⁶²

Titu Cusi’s description of Manco Inca’s 1536 siege diverges from previous Spanish chronicles in three principle ways. Firstly, whereas Betanzos and Cieza de León credited divine intercession with preserving the church from Manco Capac’s fire, Titu Cusi noted that the Spanish soldiers who had taken refuge in the Inca building were spared because of the activity of “some blacks, who were hiding on the roof” who put out the fire as well as the military protagonism of their indigenous auxiliaries (the Cañaris and Chachapoyas).⁶³ Secondly, while he omits the miraculous apparition of the Virgin Mary, he credits the Spaniards’ “God and their shields” with protecting the conquistadores’ from being killed. Lastly, Titu Cusi attributes the Spaniards’ recapture of the Inca fortress of Sacsayhuamán, strategically situated on the outskirts of Cuzco, to the military intervention of a mysterious Spanish knight on a white horse. This

⁶² Ibid., 94. While the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás glossed the Quechua term *çapay/ supay* as “angel, good or bad” (*ángel, bueno o malo*) in his 1560 *Diccionario* (Santo Tomás 1995 [1560]:179), the multivalency of the term was omitted in the 1585 *Confessionario para los curas de los indios* published in Lima, where it was simply glossed as Devil or devils. Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 212; 92. For foundational studies on the complexity inherent in pastoral translation of Quechua terms, see: Pierre Duviols, “*Camaquen upani*: un concept animiste des anciens peruvians,” in R. Hartmann and U. Oberem, eds., *Estudios americanistas: libro jubilar en homenaje Hermann Trimborn con motivo de su septuagesimoquinto aniversario*, vol. (St. Augustin: Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, 1978), 132-144; Gerard Taylor, “Supay” in *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochiri y Yauyos* (Lima: Institut Français d’Études Andines/Centro Cultural de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas,” 2000 [1980]), 19-34; Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532-1750* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú/ Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003), 102-110, 120-126.

⁶³ Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*, 106-107.

unidentified equestrian soldier, according to the Inca's account, not only led the Spanish attack since he "had been among the first to penetrate the fortress" but also ensured its efficiency by "doing great damage among the Indians."⁶⁴ Significantly, in 1568 when Titu Cusi was baptized by Augustinian friars, he took on the Christian name of "Diego" a Spanish derivation of Santiago, the patron saint of Spain.⁶⁵ But why would the Inca nobleman Titu Cusi Yupanqui adopt the name of the crusading Apostle Saint instrumental in his father Manco Inca's defeat?⁶⁶ The way in which Andeans viewed the celestial power of the Christian saint through their own cultural frameworks is suggested by late sixteenth-century ecclesiastical texts.

In his 1573 *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, the Cuzqueñan priest Cristóbal de Molina (1529-1585) underscored *Illapa*'s importance within the Inca's imperial cult, noting that the temple of the *Pucamarca* served the god of lighting and thunder.⁶⁷ Moreover, the *Coricancha* or "Golden Enclosure" dedicated to the Inca's principal deity, the Sun, also housed a venerated effigy of the god of thunder, lightning, and lightning bolts. Molina explained that the "idol" or "*huaca*" called Chuqui Illa Illapa was "shaped [like] a person, although its face could not be seen. It also had a gold *llayto*

⁶⁴ Ibid., 107.

⁶⁵ Kerstin Nowack, "Las mercedes que pedía para su salida: The Vilcabamba Inca and the Spanish State, 1539-1572," in *New Worlds, First Nations: Native Peoples of Mesoamerica and the Andes Under Colonial Rule* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), 73.

⁶⁶ Similarly, Titu Cusi's younger brother Sayri Túpac [Saire Topa] (1535 – 1561) had also been baptized with the Christian name of Diego in 1558.

⁶⁷ Cristóbal de Molina, *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, edited by Brian S. Bauer, and Vania Smith-Oka, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 130.

[head band], gold earplugs, and a gold medallion, which they call *canipo*, and it had its clothes folded next to it.”⁶⁸ Similarly, in his 1585 *Instruccion contra las ceremonias y Ritos que usan los Indios conforme al tiempo de su infidelidad* [Instruction against the ceremonies and rites that the Indians used according to the time of their infidelity], the Jesuit priest Licenciado Juan Polo de Ondegardo urged priests to remain vigilant of their indigenous neophytes as many stubbornly clung to their former religious beliefs.

Explaining the importance of *Illapa* within the Inca’s imperial religion, Ondegardo noted that the telluric deity, who was also called *Chuquilla*, *Catauilla*, and *Itillapa*, was the third most venerated deity in the Inca pantheon, second to the principal creator-deity *Viracocha*, and *Inti*, the Sun. Andean populations, he explained, not only personified *Illapa* as celestial figure who made rain, hail, thunder, lightning, clouds and all other things “pertaining to the air” fall from the sky with his sling and club, but they also called children born during thunderstorms the sons of Thunder.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁹ “Cap. 1- De las Guacas y Idolos.” In “Los Ritos de los Indios. Los errores y supersticiones de los Indios sacados del Tratado y averiguacion que hizo el Licenciado Polo.” Fol. 7v. “Despues del Viracocha, y del Sol, la tercera guaca, y de mas veneraciones era el trueno: al qual llamavan por tres nombres Chuquilla, Catuilla, Intillapa: fingiendo que es un hombre, que esta en el Cielo con una honda, y una porra, y que esta en su mano el llover, y granizar, y tronar, y todo lo demas que pertenece a la region del ayre, donde se hazen los nublados. Esta es guaca general a todos los Indios, y ofrecenle diversos sacricios, y en el Cuzco se le sacrificaban tambien niños como al Sol. Quando alguna muger pare en el campo en dia que truena, dizen que la criatura que nace es hijo del Trueno: y que se ha de dedicar para su servicio. Y assi ay mucho numero de hechizeros de estos, que llaman hijos del Trueno.” (After Viracocha, and the Sun, the third huaca, and of the greatest veneration was the thunder: whom was called by three names Chuquilla, Catuilla, Intillapa, pretending that he is a man, that is in the Sky with a sling, and a club, and that from his hands rain, hail, thunder, and everything else that from the air regio, where clouds are made, pertains to him. He is the general huaca of all the Indians, and they offer him diverse sacrifices, and in Cuzco they also sacrifice children to him as to the Sun. When some woman gives birth in the open on a day when it thunders, they

By the second half of the sixteenth-century, official ecclesiastical texts described how the synonymous association between the Andean deity-*Illapa* and the Spanish Apostle Santiago threatened Spanish Christian hegemony. Following the Second Provincial Synod in Lima (1582-1583), the Jesuit priest José de Acosta began to assemble a confessional manual to aid in the missionary evangelization of native populations.⁷⁰ A manual published in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, the 1585 *Confessionario para las curas de los indios* [Confession Guide for Priests Ministering to Indians], described the proper administration of the sacraments among native parishioners while providing priests with information on Andean religion so that “idolatrous” beliefs and practices could be corrected and their adherents punished. In particular, the *Confession Guide* explained how indigenous populations’ widespread veneration of Santiago was linked to *Illapa*, the Andean god of thunder, lightning, and

say that the creature that is born is the sun of Thunder: and that they must dedicated it to his service. And so there are a great number of sorcerers among them, who are called the sons of Thunder.”)

⁷⁰ During the Second Provincial Synod in Lima (1582-1583) clergymen and friars from all the religious orders in Peru met in the viceregal capital with the intention of standardizing the catechical instruments used for evangelizing indigenous population. Following the ecclesiastical council and with the editorial leadership of the Jesuit priest José de Acosta, a series of catechisms, guides for confessors, and sermons were published in Lima. The first catechism, *Doctrina cristiana y catecismo para instrucción de los indios* [Christian Doctrine and Catechism for the Instruction of the Indians] was published in 1584 and followed by two serial publications: the *Tercero catecismo y exposición de la doctrina cristiana por sermones* [Third Catechism and Presentation of Christian Doctrine through Sermons] and the aforementioned the 1585 *Confessionario para las curas de indios* [Confession Guide for Priests Ministering to Indians]. For the importance of the 1585 *Confessionario* in the development of a confessional theology in the Andes, see: Regina Harrison, "Confesando el pecado en los Andes: Del siglo XVI hacia nuestros días," *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* 19, no. 37 (1993): 169-184.

lightning-bolts.⁷¹ To protect themselves from danger, indigenous populations offered ritual sacrifices of maize, colored feathers, beads, and seashells to Santiago whom they associated with *Illapa* the god of thunder/lightning/lightning-bolt and even consecrated twins, whom they considered to be his sons, in service of their telluric deity's cult.⁷² Priests, in other words, were cautioned against reading Andean populations' devotion to Santiago at face value. Rather than an index of complete conversion to Christianity, one which implied indigenous populations' rejection of their own powerful deities, Santiago's embrace by indigenous populations involved, not a religious superimposition, but the combination of distinct beliefs to produce a new cultural product: *Santiago-Illapa*.

In the light of these ecclesiastical texts, it is plausible that the Inca nobleman Titu Cusi adopted *Santiago-Illapa* to present himself as the visual embodiment of the Andean deity. He may have also adopted the name to symbolically align himself with the

⁷¹ Interestingly, the *Confessionario* also instructed priests to inform idolatrous Indians that God might punish them for their misdeeds by striking them with lightning.

⁷² "Cap. I- De las idolatrias", "Cap. II-De los sacrificios y offrendas", and "Cap. V- De los Agueros y Abusiones," in *Instruccion contra las ceremonias y Ritos que usan los Indios conforme al tiempo de su infidelidad*, (Lima: Por Antonio Ricardo, 1585), 1r "Los serranos particularmente adoran el relampago, el Trueno, el Rayo llamandolo Santiago" (The highlanders particularly adore the thunderbolt, the Thunder, the Lightning, calling it Santiago"); fol. 2r "Item. usan sacrificar lo dicho, o mayz, y plumas blancas, o de otros colores, Chaquira (que ellos llaman Mollo) Conchas de la mar para librarse de los peligros de la Mar, Rios, Truenos, Rayos, y otros peligros." (Item. they use the aforementioned as sacrifices, or maize, or white feathers, or [feathers] of other color, Chaquira [beads] (which they call Mollo), seashells to liberate them from the dangers of the Sea, Rivers, Thunders, Lightnings, or other dangers.") 4v. "Si paren dos de un vientre dizen que el uno dellos es hijo del rayo que ellos el dia de oy llaman (Sancti)ago offreciendolos al trueno." (If two are born from one womb they say that one of them is the son of lightning whom today they call Santiago and they offer them to the thunder."). As well as "Reprehension para los Idolatras y Supersticiosos," in *Confessionario para los curas de indios...* (Lima: Por Antonio Ricardo, 1585), 25v. "[...] sino te emmiendas quiza te embiara a un rayo que te parte, o un mal rabioso de muerte, como lo ha hecho con otros peccadores y ydolatras." (If you do not mend your ways perhaps he will send you a lightning that splits you, or a rabid illness of death, as he has done with other sinners and idolaters.)

triumphant Christians, thus transferring their colonizing power to himself. After all, in his 1570 *Instrucción* he associated the Spanish harquebuses' loud noise and piercing light with the tripartite figuration of the Thunder/Lightning/Thunderbolt deity by referring to them as *yllapas*, as if their fatal emissions originated from a supernatural power. Rather than acknowledging the Spaniards' spiritual triumph, Titu Cusi may have merely assumed the name Diego as a stand-in for *Illapa*—one of the principal deities within the Inca religious pantheon and widely venerated throughout the Andes. In the latter case, a religious transformation was implied wherein “Illapa and Santiago had inextricably merged, forging a god kin to, but nonetheless differing from, either of his progenitors.”⁷³

Spanish authorities in Cuzco likewise channeled the intercessory power of the crusading Apostle Santiago following the 1572 public execution of the Tupac Amaru I, the last Inca ruler of Vilcabamba. Under orders of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo (1569-1571), Tupac Amaru's dismembered head was exhibited on a spike near the city's main Cathedral to serve a visible warning of the Crown's punishment of indigenous rebels.⁷⁴ By instituting Santiago's annual feast day celebration and establishing the indigenous parish of Santiago in Cuzco, the Viceroy Toledo further commemorated the

⁷³ Irene Silverblatt, “Political Memories and Colonizing Symbols: Santiago and the Mountain Gods of Colonial Peru,” in *Rethinking History and Myth. Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 185.

⁷⁴ On the Spaniards campaign against the Inca ruler of Vilcabamba and the symbolism surrounding the 1572 public execution of Túpac Amaru in Cuzco, see: Liliana Regalado de Hurtado, *El inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui y su tiempo: los incas de Vilcabamba: y los primeros cuarenta años del dominio español* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 1997), 123-133; and Gabriela Ramos, *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532-1680* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 34-60.

triumphant visual power of the crusading saint who had supported the Spanish Crown's conquest and colonization of the Incas.⁷⁵

While celebrating the patron saint of Spain who had assisted in the conquest and colonization of the Incas, the Viceroy also resettled native populations in Spanish-style towns administered by royally-appointed *corregidores* (municipal authorities), thus curtailing the Spanish conquistadores' direct exploitation of indigenous populations. Cuzco's Spanish elites, however, challenged the Crown's imposition of a centralized government apparatus that limited their political power by remembering Santiago's visible intervention on their behalf during Manco Inca's 1536 siege. After assisting the Viceroy Toledo during his territorial reforms, in 1572 the *corregidor* of Cuzco, Doctor Gabriel de Loarte (1530-1578), sent a lengthy memorial to the President of the Council of the Indies, Doctor Juan de Ovando e Godoy.⁷⁶ To document the Spaniards' loyal service to the Crown, the memorial was signed by twelve *vecinos* (resident elites) from Cuzco, including a veteran of the 1536 siege.⁷⁷ While acknowledging the Spanish monarch's sovereignty over newly-conquered territories as a "*merced*" (privilege) granted by God

⁷⁵ Juan de Espinosa Medrano, *Noticias cronológicas del Cuzco. Gobierno incaico y primer siglo de la conquista*, [1699], (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1902), 219.

⁷⁶ Doctor Gabriel de Loarte (1530-1578) accompanied the Viceroy Toledo to Cuzco in 1570 to assist in the capture and punishment of Inca elites allied with Túpac Amaru. Following his role in pacifying the neo-Inca state of Vilcabamba, the Crown appointed him as the *corregidor* of Cuzco in 1573, a royal position he exercised with legal assistance from Polo de Ondegardo.

⁷⁷ Included among the twelve *vecinos* who signed the petition, are two famous signatories: the conquistador Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo, a veteran of the 1536 siege who died in Cuzco in 1589; and Polo de Ondegardo, the Spanish jurist who, besides penning a religious treatise against indigenous idolatry, had also aided the Viceroy Toledo in his campaign against the Inca Tupac Amaru of Vilcabamba.

through his vicar on earth the Pope, the Spanish *vecinos* of Cuzco argued that they were personally instrumental in defending the Crown's "just title" during the wars of conquest.⁷⁸ Moreover, they emphasized their sacrificial service on behalf of the Spanish King's possession of Peru by claiming that eight hundred of the one thousand Spanish soldiers had perished during conquest battles.⁷⁹ During Manco Inca's 1536 siege of Cuzco, for example, they had not only courageously defended the city against the rebel Inca's armies but had also been divinely-favored, as when they were quartered and outnumbered, God "miraculously liberated us" in order that the city could, under the Spanish Crown, be occupied by Christians and to "fulfill his divine predestination."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ "Porque el fundamento fue la merced que nuestro señor y su uicario general de nuestra yglesia hizieron a los rreyes de castilla dándoles el dominio soberano y haziendolos patrones en lo espiritual con cargo de la conversión y predicación evangélica con poder general de estenderse a todo lo descubierta y por descubrir sin limitación alguna..."). Carta del Dr. Loarte al Presidente del Consejo de Indias con que remite un importante memorial del Cabildo del Cuzco en el que los vecinos protestan de los cronistas que no vieron ni entendieron los hechos de la conquista y escriben sin averiguar la verdad; suman el derecho del Rey de España a esos reinos y expresan el mérito de los descubridores, conquistadores y pobladores. Cuzco, 24 octubre 1572," In Roberto Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú, cartas y papeles, siglo XVI; documentos del Archivo de Indias, Tomo VII* (Madrid, Impr. de J. Pueyo, 1924), 119.

⁷⁹"[...]Pues por tan justo titulo se nos deven defendernos con sus rrelaciones de la opinión en que nuestros émulos nos tienen puestos en acatamiento de su magestad pues allende de todo lo dicho lo qual a costado tantas uidas y haciendas de sus subditos y basallos en lo que se a ofrescido en defender estos rreinos de ios que los an querido vsurpar con motines y traiciones nosotros emos sido los que nos emos hallado en castigarlos y desbaraírlos tan a nuestra costa y de nuestras uidas que de mili feudatarios que su magestad a proueido en ellos en diferentes tienpos mas de ios ochocientos fueron muertos en la dicha defensa y rebeliones." Ibid., 128.

⁸⁰ "[...]Que nos escoxio dios nuestro Señor por medio para que se cumpliese su divina predestinacion....después en los cercos que nos pusieron de ynumerable gente en esta ciudad y en la de los rreyes estando muchas veces tomados casi a manos y perdida casi la ciudad nos libro dios milagrosamente.... que quando entramos en la tierra quiso nuestro señor conseruamos y defendernos para que se poblase y se predicase en ella la doctrina evangélica y después para que se vea su diuina prouidencia es seruido que conozcamos la merced y beneficio que entonces reciuimos de su mano." Ibid., 121-122.

Notwithstanding Cuzco's strategic importance as the former capital of the Inca Empire, the Spanish elites lamented that their city's starring role in the wars of conquest had been overlooked by the historical record and even their municipal books (*libros de cabildo*) failed to recount the miracles that occurred during the 1536 siege.⁸¹ To remedy this grave oversight, they beseeched the King to reaffirm Cuzco's preeminent status as the "head of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru," an honor granted them in following Manco Inca's siege, along with a royal coat-of-arms.⁸² Moreover, the Spanish *vecinos* also asked for permission to modify the city's royal coat-of-arms, granted to Cuzco by the Crown in 1540, by inserting in its civic heraldry the figure of the Apostle Santiago, "the patron Saint of Spain who had favored us so notoriously."⁸³ By figuring Santiago within Cuzco's royal coat-of-arms, the Spanish elites of Cuzco not only sought to

⁸¹ "[...] because of this we do not have any other originals to exhibit nor the books of the founding of this city even though we shamefully confess our neglect in that there is only one old and broken booklet recording the first *cabildo* celebrated in this city by its governors and councilors which can barely be read and so we beg your excellency to order together with this our petition an original be placed in that aforementioned book of ordinances." ([...]para todo lo qual no tenemos otros originales que mostrar ni libros de la fundación desta ciudad aunque con vergüenza confesemos nuestro descuido sino solamente vn quadernillo viejo y roto que apenas se puede leer en que por el consta del primer cabildo que en esta ciudad se hizo y alcaldes y regidores el qual suplicamos a vuestra excelencia mande poner original con esta nuestra petición en el dicho libro de ordenanzas.") Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 128.

⁸² October 12, 1572, the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1571) emitted a royal provision reaffirming the city of Cuzco's position as the "cabeza de los reinos y provincias del Perú"—a preeminent position that provided the city's local authorities with privileged seating and the first vote in elections in accordance with the Emperor Carlos V's April 24, 1540 royal decree. Diego Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas De La Gran Ciudad Del Cuzco* [1742], (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), 219.

⁸³ "[...]Pedimos y suplicamos a vuestra excelencia mande que en principio de las hordenanzas que nos dexa hechasse ponga esta nuestra petición confirmando las armas que esta ciudad tiene que son la fortaleza delia y vnos condores que se pusieron en ellas por ser el aue mas grande que hallamos y la ymagen de señor Santiago patrón de españa por auemos faborecido tan notoriamente." Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú, cartas y papeles*, 128.

symbolically honor the patron saint of Spain's celestial intercession during Manco Inca's 1536 siege, but also to further their political alliance with the Spanish Crown.⁸⁴ Even though the Spanish Monarch Carlos V and his successors Felipe II and Carlos II reaffirmed the privileged status of Cuzco as the "head of the Kingdoms of Peru," the *vecinos'* petition to modify the city's royal coat-of-arms was denied.⁸⁵

An Andean Reframing of the Conquest Miracles

Just as Spanish elites in Cuzco invoked the visual power of the Santiago to claim political and military honors, the indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma also strategically reframed the Conquest miracles to assert his own power and privilege as an Andean-Christian nobleman. In his 1615 illustrated letter titled *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* [The New Chronicle of Good Government], addressed to King Felipe II of Spain, the indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala narrated his cultural experience as a privileged Andean living during the first generation after the Conquest. Performing his authority before the Crown, he introduces himself as an Andean noble with historical ties

⁸⁴ The historical significance of the heraldic symbols in Cuzco's 1540 coat-of-arms and its relationship to other blasonry from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Cuzco is explored in Luiz Ramos Gómez, "El motivo «torre» en el escudo de Cuzco y en los queros y otras vasijas andinas de madera de época colonial, del Museo de América (Madrid)," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 34 (2004):163-185.

⁸⁵ The 1572 memorial was also signed by Melchor Vásquez de Ávila, Pedro de Valdés, Martín Hurtado de Arbieta, Julián de Umarán, Jerónimo Costilla, don Jerónimo de Figueroa Pancorbo, Miguel Sánchez, Joan Pérez de Prado, Rodrigo de Esquivel, and Sancho Bravo de Lagunas. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 128-129.

to both Incas and Spaniards.⁸⁶ Specifically, he explains that his father Don Martín Mallqui de Ayala was “one of the principal Indians and lord and *caballero* of this kingdom, a very great servant of your Majesty, second person to the *Ynga* in all this said kingdom.”⁸⁷ However, he bemoans how the greedy Spanish conquistadors had neglected to act as Christians in their treatment of his innocent Andean ancestors. For example, the Spanish conquistador don Francisco Pizarro had cruelly executed his grandfather Guaman Chava, a *Capac Apo* or principal lord by trapping him and his family inside their home with a stone wall and then lighting the structure on fire.⁸⁸

The Andean author’s account of Manco Inca’s 1536 siege reflects his evident familiarity with the Inca sacred geography of Cuzco, knowledge acquired during his

⁸⁶ While Guaman Poma claimed to be the grandson of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the nephew of Huayna Capac, and the first-cousin of both Huáscar and Atahualpa—the Inca sovereigns who fought a dynastic war when the Spanish conquistadors first arrived in Peru, his Inca ancestry is uncertain.

⁸⁷ The original reads: “uno de los más principales yndios y señor y cauallero deste rreyno, muy gran seruidor de su Magestad, segunda persona del mismo *Ynga* de todo este dicho rreyno. Y acá, como señor, fue al enbaxador del enperador don Carlos, al dicho don Francisco Pizarro y a don Diego de Almagro, y a bezar las manos y a darze pas y amistad con su Magestad y al seruicio y lo rrecibió en el puerto de Tunbes, en la ciudad de *Caxamarca*.” (“one of the principal Indians and lord and knight of this kingdom, a very great servant to your Majesty, second person to the *Ynga* himself in all this said kingdom. And so, as lord, and in service to your Majesty, he received the embassy of don Carlos in the port of Tumbes and in the city of Cajamarca, kissing the hands of don Francisco Pizarro and don Diego de Almagro and giving peace and friendship to your Majesty.” Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, GKS 22324, Fol. 15[15]- 16[16].

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 397 [399]. “Don Francisco y don Diego de Almagro y los demás cristianos le mandaron tapear al excelentísimo señor, *capac apo Guaman Chaua*, segunda persona del *Ynga*, que estaua bibo muy biejo y los demás señores grandes. Le enserraron, pidiéndole oro y plata como enteresado y cudicioso en oro y plata. Estos dichos conquistadores le echó fuego y le quemó, acabó su uida.” [“Don Francisco and don Diego de Almagro and the rest of the christians sent them to cover up the excellent lord, *capac apo Guaman Chaua*, the second person of the *Ynga*, who was alive and old and the rest of the great lords. They shut them in, asking for gold and silver as interested and covetous of gold and silver. These said conquistadors threw fire on him to burn him, and ended his life.”]

extended residence in the city between 1556 and 1580.⁸⁹ Specifically, he notes that the first Conquest miracle took place in Cuzco's central plaza—the *Huacaypata*—specifically inside the Inca *cuyusmango* which the Spaniards used as a church.⁹⁰

According to Guaman Poma, Manco Inca's warriors tried to burn the *cuyusmango* but their fires were continually extinguished so that the Spaniards—and their cross—were spared from destruction. Invoking collective indigenous eyewitnesses, the indigenous chronicler writes: “They say that the fire, when striking that house, flew over top of it and did not want to burn down that house at all, and they were frightened because *it was as if the fire did not want to reach the holy cross, which was God Our Lord's miracle.*” The frustrated fire, he goes on to explain, not only served to highlight the triumphant preservation of the cross of the *cuyusmango* but also signaled “that the holy church had already taken root in the kingdom during that time.”⁹¹

Significantly, in Guaman Poma's depiction of the “first miracle of conquest” in which the Inca palace or *cuyusmango* with its interior cross was spared from fire, he borrows from his earlier composition representing his grandfather's execution by

⁸⁹ Besides likely producing a commissioned painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe for the parish of San Cristóbal near the Inca fortress of Sacsahuamán in 1565, he may have also witnessed the 1575 public execution of Tupac Amaru's in Cuzco's main plaza. See: José Carlos Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, (Lima: Banco Wiese Ltda, 1982), 87; and Raúl Porras Barrenechea, “El cronista indio Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala [1948],” in *Los Cronistas del Perú: 1528-1650 y Otros Ensayos*, (Lima: Banco del Crédito del Perú, 1986), 629-630.

⁹⁰ In the town of Chinchero outside of Cuzco, the Spaniards likewise used the royal estate of the Topa Inca as the foundation for a colonial church. Stella Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), Ch. 5, 111-156.

⁹¹ Emphasis my own. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno (1615/1616)*, fol. 401 [403].

replacing the figures of Francisco Pizarro and his deceased ancestors for those of the Inca Manco Capac and a wooden cross surrounded by Andean stones (Figure 25a-b).⁹²



Figure 25a: (L) Guaman Poma, “Don Francisco Pizarro burns the house of the Capac Apo Guaman Chava, asking for gold,” and **Figure 25b:** (R) “Conquista-Mango Inca lights fire to the *cuyusmango*,” ink on paper, ca. 1613-1615.⁹³

Like Pizarro, the Spanish conquistador, the Inca ruler holds a flaming torch, poised to light the adobe building’s thatched straw roof on fire. However, whereas Pizarro’s fire was used as a fatal weapon to incinerate Andean bodies, in the hands of Manco Inca the destructive power of fire is re-channeled as a divine instrument so that

⁹² In his 1608 dictionary, Gonzalez Holguin defines the noun “*cuyusmanco huasi*” as a municipal building consisting of three walls with an open entryway (“la casa del cabildo, de tres paredes y una descubierta”). Holguin, *Arte y Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 63.

⁹³ Image Source: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), folio. 396 [398] and folio 400 [402].

the Inca *cuyusmango* with its interior cross symbolizing Christ's death and resurrection are materially preserved. While the Andean artist's depiction of two crosses—one atop the gabled roof of the single-room building and another within its narrow entrance—visualizes the Spaniards' re-purposing of the Inca palace as a Christian site of worship, his textual inscription affirms the precedence of the original Inca structure the “*cuyusmango*” over its colonial transformation by reading: “Mango Inca sets fire to the *cuyusmango* and God made a miracle with the holy cross ✠ and it did not burn. In Cuzco- fire.”⁹⁴

The presence of the Inca Manco Capac holding up a flaming torch to light the building's roof likewise suggests his continued jurisdiction over the sacred Inca space. Further supporting the preservation of the Andean building's ritual use despite its Spanish facelift, is the fact that a pile of stones form the base around the interior cross.⁹⁵ Since Incan royal estates functioned as more than personal dwelling-places and often served as both imperial religious and administrative centers, it is likely that before its conversion into a Spanish Church, the *cuyusmango* was already considered a repository of the sacred—including venerated rocks.⁹⁶ It is also possible that besides being supported by

⁹⁴ The Spanish original reads: “*MANGO INGA PEGA FVUEGO AL CVIVS MANGO* a la santa crus ✠ / hizo milagro Dios y no se quemó. / en el Cuczo- ensendio”

⁹⁵ Significantly, Guaman Poma notes that before he died from smallpox and fearing for his life, the Inca Huayna Capac “fled from the conversion of the people and put himself into a stone, and in there he died without anybody knowing it.” Ibid. Chapter 6 “The Chapter of the Inkas” fol. 114 [114].

⁹⁶ On the symbolic importance of both crafted and natural rocks within pre-colonial and colonial Cuzco, see: Carolyn Dean, “Rocks and Reverence: Inka and Spanish Perceptions of Stonework in the Early

small pebbles, the Spaniards' wooden cross was seated on top of ritually-prized Andean fabric or *chumbi* woven by female virgins (*acllahuasi*) dedicated to the Inca imperial cult of the sun.⁹⁷

Besides testifying to the consecration of the Inca sacred space, Guaman Poma's visualization of the *cuyusmango* contains symbolic elements that trigger broader associations linked to a painful genealogical history of Spanish destruction. For example, just as the *cuyusmango*'s interior pebbles mnemonically re-member the stone wall which Pizarro constructed to trap Guaman Poma's grandfather inside his home, Manco Inca's torch recalls how the ruthless Spanish conquistador burnt his ancestors alive. As such, the fire's *absence* of destruction reveals the *presence* of Andean stone and the Inca bodies embedded within the Christianized *cuyusmango*. As if echoing Jesus Christ's reference to himself as the cornerstone/boundary marker of the Church, the Spanish temple is literally erected upon a pre-existing sacred Inca site and its interior cross emerges from colonized bodies of Andean stone.⁹⁸

Modern Andes," in *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, c. 1250-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 180-201.

⁹⁷ The word "chumpi" as an adjective denotes the color brown and as a noun refers to a type of wrapper or sash. Holguin, *Arte y Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 88.

⁹⁸ "Más yo tambien te digo, que tú eres Pedro: y sobre esta piedra edificaré mi Iglesia: y las puertas del infierno no prevalecerán contra ella" (Mateo 16:18 Biblia Reina-Valera 1602). "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. 16:18, New King James Version, 1611).

In addition to his illustration's mnemonic resurrection of sacrificed Inca bodies within the *cuyusmango*, Guaman Poma's textual narration underscores how indigenous populations recognized the first "Conquest" miracle as sign that Christianity had already been successfully established in the Andes. Moreover, he suggests that Andean religion anticipated Christianity with its Trinitarian God since "ancient Indians" were not idolatrous pagans but rather they venerated a Creator-deity whom they considered to be "only one God, in three persons."⁹⁹ Guaman Poma thus implicitly questions the ideological justification of the Spanish conquest as a missionary endeavor by asserting that indigenous populations were primed to embrace Christianity. Specifically, he suggests that the Spaniards' violent conquest was wholly unnecessary since by 1536 the Inca Empire of Tawantinsuyu had already converted to Christianity.¹⁰⁰ Just as Guaman Poma emphasizes indigenous populations as the privileged eyewitnesses of the miracle of

⁹⁹ "Y no señoriaua los demonios ni adorauan a los ydolos uacas, cino con la poca sombra adoraua al Criador y tenían fe en Dios...Tenían los yndios antiguos conocimiento de que abía un solo Dios, tres personas." ("And they did not serve the Demons nor did they adore the idols *huacas*, but rather with little doubt they adored the Creator and had faith in God...The ancient indians had knowledge that there was only one god, [in] three persons." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), fols. 54 [54]- 55 [55].

¹⁰⁰ For an excellent study of the historical development of Andean missionary discourse which, by framing indigenous populations as incomplete converts, justified the maintenance of Spanish Christian colonialism, see: Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750* (Lima: Institut Francais d'Etudes Andines), 2003.

the *cuyusmango*, they were also honored by the visitation of the Virgin Mary during the second “Conquest” miracle at the *Sunturhuasi*.¹⁰¹

Guaman Poma describes how the Mother of God appeared before the Inca Manco Capac in ways that recall Saul’s biblical conversion from the persecutor of Christians to the Apostle Paul (he was blinded by a celestial light and thrown off his horse while a voice called out from heaven), writing:

Afterward in that same hour God made another miracle. When all the Christians were enclosed in the plaza of Cuzco, while they were praying, down on their knees, and calling aloud on God and the Virgin Mary and all the saints and holy angels, saying: “Help me, oh Virgin Mary, Mother of God,” [God] caused another very great miracle, a miracle from the Mother of God to this kingdom, which the Indians of this kingdom *witnessed with their eyes* and they declare and testify it as such, that at that time they *saw* a woman never before seen nor known in all of this kingdom, the first woman which they knew as the Virgin Mary.¹⁰²

While Guaman Poma does not specifically name the site of the Virgin’s apparition, later chronicles would identify it with the imposing Inca palace-hall of the *Sunturhuasi*, where the Dominican bishop of Cuzco, Fray Vicente de Valverde, had first installed a chapel dedicated to the Virgin of the Conception that would later become the city’s first Cathedral.¹⁰³ If the first miracle of “Conquest” served as a divine signal that the Church

¹⁰¹ In contrast with the noun *cuyusmanco huasi* defined as a type of government building, *suntur huasi* is used as an adjective to describe a round house or “casa redonda.” Holguin, *Arte y Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 347.

¹⁰² Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615/1616), fol. 401 [403].

¹⁰³ A chapel adjacent to the Cathedral that served as a sacristy—*La Capilla de Triunfo* [The Chapel of Triumph], was later constructed during the seventeenth-century on the site of the Virgin’s legendary

had already been firmly established in the Andes, then the second “Conquest” miracle further cemented the idea that indigenous populations had been fully converted to Christianity as they *gazed* on the brilliant apparition of the Virgin. Using visual metaphors to underscore the Virgin’s optical luminescence-as-spiritual illumination, Guaman Poma notes that she appeared “clothed in a very white dress, whiter than the sun, and her face radiating more brilliance than the sun.”¹⁰⁴ Guaman Poma’s textual emphasis on indigenous populations’ religious transformation by and through their visual encounter with the refulgent Virgin Mary is likewise echoed in his ink drawing (Figure 26).

appearance over the *Sunturhuasi*. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de Maria en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 39.

¹⁰⁴ “Todo bestido de una bestidura muy blanca, más blanca que la nieve y la cara muy resplandeciente, más que el sol.” Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen Gobierno*, fol. 403.



Figure 26: Guaman Poma, “Conquest Miracle of Saint Mary,” ink on paper, ca. 1613- 1615.¹⁰⁵

Guaman Poma’s illustration figures an Inca captain wearing a helmet and lying on the ground, directly beneath the Virgin’s feet. With his eyes tightly closed, the man stretches out his hands as if genuflecting before the victorious female deity. Though the rest of the indigenous foot soldiers retreat in fear, one man arches up his head to gaze at the miraculous apparition. The man wears large ear spools and his head is adorned with a *mascaypacha* (royal red fringe), thus exhibiting his privileged status as a member of the Inca nobility.¹⁰⁶ The shield lying on the ground beyond his reach identifies the man as the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Fol. 402 [404]. “The miracle of Santa María de Peña de Francia: Inka soldiers are frightened in battle by the miraculous apparition and flee.”

¹⁰⁶ Colonial indigenous elites displayed the *mascaypacha* (royal red fringe) to assert their status as noles descended from the Incas but prior to the Spanish conquest the royal insignia was restricted the Inca and members of his royal family. See Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes incas*

Inca Manco Capac, likewise depicted wearing military attire in the first “Conquest” miracle illustration concerning the *cuyusmango* (Figure 25b).¹⁰⁷

The Inca Manco Capac courageously looks up at the blinding sight of the Virgin Mary with one hand resting loosely on top of his fallen spear and the other lifted to protect his eyes. The disarmed Inca and the absence of Spanish soldiers in this battle scene highlight how Guaman Poma conceived of indigenous populations as Christian converts who embraced the Virgin, not as hostile pagans who rebelled against the Spanish Crown. Though the illustration lacks geographic references, Guaman Poma defines the miracle’s space as “En el Cuzco” (“in Cuzco”) and identifies the Virgin’s apparition as “Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia” (“Our Lady of the Crag of France”) in an accompanying textual caption.¹⁰⁸ As such, the Andean artist-author strategically

del Perú, (Madrid: CSIC, 1946 [1590]), 136. Cited in Jean-Jacques Decoster, “Identidad étnica y manipulación cultural: La indumentaria inca en la época colonial,” *Estudios atacameños* 29 (2005): 168.

¹⁰⁷ In 1534 Pizarro’s secretary Francisco Jeréz equated the Inca *mascaypacha* with the Castilian crown of Carlos V. Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, “Autorretrato del conquistador como vencido o la invención del Perú: la aparición del inca y de sus atributos políticos en las representaciones plásticas, 1526-1548,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 1 (2010): 187.

¹⁰⁸ Though the French friar Simon Roland (called Simón Vela in Spanish) excavated the miraculous icon of the Virgin from a mountainous crag outside Salmananca around 434 AD when a shrine dedicated to the image was completed, Spanish Dominicans later promoted the iconic cult as “Nuestra Señora de la Peñafrancia” (“Our Lady of the Crag of France”), establishing February 23 as her annual feast day celebration and naming her the patron saint of Salamanca. See: Alberto Colunga, O. P. *Santuario de la Peña de Francia* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban), 1990. In France, this Marianic advocacy is venerated “Notre-Dame de Roches” (“Our Lady of the Rocks”) and was famously depicted by Leonardo da Vinci in a 1483-1486 painting currently housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Nicholas J. Santoro, *Mary in Life: Atlas of the Names and Titles of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, and Their Place in Marian Devotion* (Bloomington: iUniverse, Inc. 2011), 547. Eighteenth-century Spanish colonists spread devotion to Nuestra Señora de la Peñafrancia to the Philippines, eventually establishing a pilgrimage shrine in the Bicol region.

deployed his visual and textual narration of the second “Conquest” miracle to position Andean populations as eyewitness who embraced the Virgin Mary, thus forming part of the universal history of Christendom.

Contrasting with his narration of the Virgin Mary as silently appearing above the Suntuahuasi, Guaman Poma describes the intervention of the equestrian Saint James as sounding “like a great thunderclap” with the appearance of “lightning from heaven” near the Inca fortress of Sacsahuaman. The Indians who saw Saint James’ dramatic descent in Cuzco thus believed “that *yllapa*, thunder and lightning, had fallen from the heaven, the *caccha* of the Christians.” Not only was the Spanish knight dressed in armor, and carrying a shield, sword, and standard, but the white horse that accompanied him was similarly adorned, as the colored feathers of the *suri* (a small Andean ostrich) decorated his mantle and bells were fixed around his hooves to rattle when he galloped. Besides the mounted crusader’s alarming appearance and noisy entrance, Santiago came with “great destruction and death to very many Indians” such that the indigenous soldiers retreated

On devotion to the Virgin of Peñafrancia in the Philippines, see: Miguel A. Bernad, “The Case of the Misnamed Virgin,” *Philippine Studies* 16, no. 3 (1968): 563-576; Vitaliano R. Gorospe, “Peñafrancia revisited,” *Philippine Studies* 42, no. 1 (1994): 63-79; and Luciano PR. Santiago, “‘To Love and to Suffer’: The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Philippines during the Spanish Era (1565-1898),” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 23, no. 2 (1995): 151-195.

from Cuzco to the nearby town of Ollantaytambo where the Inca ordered his portrait and arms carved in a great hill nearby so that he would be remembered.¹⁰⁹

Perhaps expressing the Spanish Emperor Carlos V's symbolic association with the crusading saint, Guaman Poma specifically credits the visual intervention of Santiago with delivering Peru to the Crown. He explains that after Santiago's appearance, when the Inca ruler Manco fled the city, he left "the kingdom and crown, *mascaypacha* [royal fringe] and *chambi* [bludgeon], to the lord emperor and king, our lord don Carlos."¹¹⁰ Interestingly, Guaman Poma's figuration of Santiago visually cites his portrait of the Spanish Captain Don Luis de Ávalos de Ayala, the man who became genealogically aligned with the Andean lord's family during the Spanish Conquest of Lima after Guaman Poma's father had saved the latter's life (Figure 27a-b).

Both illustrations figure bearded Spanish men gallantly mounted upon well-decked white horses and holding deathly weapons over the heads of indigenous elites who, though grasping shields and bludgeons (*porras*), appear either unconscious or dead and thus effectively vanquished. As in the case of his visualization of the miracle of the

¹⁰⁹ "Todo armado con su espada desnuda y que venía con gran destrucción y muerto muy muchos yndios y desbarató todo el serco de los yndios a los cristianos que avia ordenado Mango Ynga y que llevaba el santo mucho ruido y de ello se espantaron los yndios...dexo el reyno y corona, mascaypacha [borla real] y chambi [porrada pelear] al señor emperador y rey, nuestro señor don Carlos...mandó retratarse y a sus armas en una peña grandissimo para que fuese memoria." Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Fol. 406 [408].

¹¹⁰ The Quechua "illapa" is defined as a noun referring to either lightening, rifle, or artillery whereas the verb "illapani" refers to shooting a rifle or any other gun. Though there is no dictionary definition for *cachca*, the adjective "cachca" is used to refer to something abrupt or harsh. Holguin, *Arte y Diccionario Quechua-Español*, 154, 45.

cuyusmango in which he symbolically inserts his own family history within the miracles of Conquest by visually citing the execution of his grandfather, Guaman Poma's depiction of the Apostle Saint who descended "in favor of the Christians" mirrors that of his ostensible forebearer, the Spanish Captain Luis de Ávalos de Ayala.¹¹¹



Figure 27a: (L)- Guaman Poma, “Captain Luis de Ávalos de Ayala kills the Inca Quizo Yupanqui, during the conquest of Lima,” and (R) **Figure 27b** “The Miracle of Saint James the Great in Cuzco,” ink on paper, ca. 1613-1615.¹¹²

¹¹¹ According to Guaman Poma, the Spanish Captain Luis de Ávalos de Ayala was so grateful to Guaman Poma's father Don Martín, that he beseeched the Spanish King to award him “even though an Indian” with a royal *encomienda* and personally gifted the Andean lord his own Spanish surname Ayala. Moreover, Guaman Poma's elder half-brother—the *mestizo* priest Martín de Ayala—was the son of his mother doña Juana Curi Ocllo and the Spanish captain Luis de Ávalos de Ayala, whose Spanish surname Guaman Poma's father adopted after the Spanish civil wars between the Pizarro awarded Guaman Poma's father during the Spanish civil wars. Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Fol. 16 [16].

¹¹² Image Source: *Ibid.*, 392 [394] and 404 [406].

Besides deepening his artwork's interpretive horizons, Guaman Poma's inter-visual iconographic process is particularly symbolic in the case of the iconology of his "Conquest" miracles. By borrowing from, adapting, or re-framing compositional elements from earlier images, Guaman Poma includes pictorial references to his own extended family within two of the three miracles represented by the Andean artist. Moreover, Guaman Poma's visualizations of the three Cuzco miracles further emphasize a self-referential indigenous privilege through their strategic omissions; there are no Spanish soldiers battling against Manco Inca's armies in these drawings. The Andean chronicler's visual-textual narration of the miracles of Conquest thus set the stage for how later indigenous and mestizo artists and chroniclers visually coded the Conquest miracles to perform their own cultural privilege and power.

Mestizo Imaginaries: Reading Power in Print and Paintings

The *mestizo* chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega "El Inca" also evoked his own genealogical privilege as the descendant of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca noblewoman in his 1617 *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* published in Madrid.¹¹³ Born in Cuzco in 1539, Garcilaso fondly recalled participating in Saint James' the annual feast-day celebration, a lavish civic affair held on July 25th that included "a procession, sermon, and solemn mass in the mornings and a bull fight, a tourney with canes, and

¹¹³ For a biographical and historical overview of Garcilaso de la Vega "E Inca" see: David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and The Liberal State 1492 – 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 255-272.

many rejoicings in the afternoon.” By establishing himself as a privileged eyewitness of the Conquest saints’ commemorations in early sixteenth-century Cuzco, Garcilaso strategically authorizes his own historical version of the 1536 miracles.

In one chapter titled “Prince Manco Inca’s rising; two miracles on behalf of the Christians,” Garcilaso recounts how the Inca soldiers could not set fire to the interior hall of the *cuyusmango* where the Spanish soldiers had taken refuge, writing:

The great hall inside it, where the cathedral now is, and where the Christians then had a chapel to hear mass, was saved by our Lord from the flames, and though innumerable arrows were shot at it and it began to burn in many places, the flames were put out again, as if there were as many men throwing water on them. This was one of the marvels performed by our Lord in that city to establish His holy Gospel there; and the city has proved this, for it is certainly one of the most religious and charitable in the New World today, among both Spaniards and Indians.¹¹⁴

Just as the intercessory presence “our Lord in that city” had prevented the fire from destroying the *cuyusmango*, the saints’ intervention during the siege of Cuzco affirmed the triumph of Spanish Christianity in the Andes. Even though the Spaniards were severely outnumbered since “there were a thousand Indians for every Spaniard, God sent his intercessory saints to aid the Christians in battle on multiple occasions, thus “depriving the infidels of a victory that lay within their hands and granting it to his own people.” The mestizo chronicler goes on to describe that even though the Spaniards were weakened from being quartered in the square of Cuzco for seventeen days, their strength

¹¹⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega and Harold V. Livermore, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989) Book II, 799.

was renewed because of their Christian faith, as they had invoked celestial aid by “calling aloud on the name of the Virgin and on that of their defender the apostle St. James.” The indigenous armies of the Inca Manco Capac, he noted, were terrorized by the sight of Saint James, who appeared in Cuzco “mounted on a splendid white horse, bearing a shield showing the arms of his military order and carrying in his right hand a sword that seemed like a flash of lightning, so brightly did it shine.”¹¹⁵ The celestial appearance of the Spaniards’ saint disoriented the indigenous warriors who exclaimed, ““Who is the Viracocha with the *illapa* in his hand?” (meaning lightning, thunder, and thunderbolt)”? When the Inca captains of Manco Capac saw that the saint of the Spanish army had caused their soldiers to flee in terror, they lamented bitterly, “What is this? How have we become *útic, sampa, llaclla*, (fools, cowards, weaklings)?”¹¹⁶

According to Garcilaso, indigenous populations’ apprehension of the military power of the Spanish saint was likely informed by the Andean deity *Illapa*, whose widespread veneration was condemned in the recently-published 1585 confessional manual.¹¹⁷ Rather than resist the celestial power of Santiago-*Illapa*, the indigenous forces of Manco Inca “could not defend themselves and lost courage so rapidly that they

¹¹⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega mentions that indigenous populations “regarded the Spaniards as the children of their god [Viracocha]” since they had killed the Inca Atahualpa, who was considered an illegitimate tyrant and thus “they respected them so much that they worshipped them and scarcely defend themselves against them.” *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru Part I*, Book Five, 287.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Book II, 800-803.

¹¹⁷ In 1603, during his residence in Spain, Garcilaso received a copy of the 1585 trilingual confessional from a Spanish cleric named Diego de Alcobaza. Ibid, Book II, 683.

fled helter-skelter and abandoned the fight.”¹¹⁸ Even though Garcilaso emphasizes Saint James’ miraculous military intercession as critical to the Spaniards’ defeat of the Inca army near the fortress of Sacsayhuaman on the outskirts of city, he presents the Virgin Mary’s 1536 apparition over the Sunturhuasi as a watershed moment leading up to the Christian conversion of indigenous populations in Cuzco. That Garcilaso devoted an entire chapter to the Virgin’s miraculous apparition in Cuzco titled, “A miracle of Our Lady on behalf of the Christians; and a duel between two Indians,” testifies to the Virgin’s central position within seventeenth-century accounts of the Spanish Conquest.

Even after Santiago’s interventions, indigenous armies persisted in their military affront against the Spanish occupiers. One night, when the Inca armies attacked the Spanish forces, the Virgin Mary herself came to the rescue of the Christians by blinding their indigenous assailants. Garcilaso writes,

When the Indians were about fall on the Christians our Lady appeared in the air with the child Jesus in Her arms in great splendor and beauty and stood before them all. When the infidels beheld this marvel they were astonished. They felt a dust fall into their eyes—sometimes like sand, sometimes like a dew—and it prevented them from seeing so that they did not know where they were.¹¹⁹

Contrasting with Saint James who directly intervenes on behalf of Spanish soldiers armed with a piercing sword and the blinding clamor of *illapa* (thunder-lightning), the Virgin Mary’s celestial intercession was indirect, though no less effective, in terms of

¹¹⁸ Ibid. Book II, 802.

¹¹⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, Book II, 803-804.

vanquishing the “infidel” armies of the Inca Manco Capac. After witnessing the Virgin’s miraculous apparition, the Indians were left completely disarmed, such that they only “utter their war cries and give the alarm by day and night... without offering battle any longer.” As a sign of their gratitude to the Virgin who had favored them in battle, the victorious Spaniards “determined to dedicate the place [where she appeared] as a temple and house of prayer to the Lord when he freed them from the siege.”¹²⁰

Whereas Garcilaso de la Vega focused on how the apparitions of Saint James and the Virgin Mary neutralized the Incas’ armies and inspired their effective Christian conversion, later Spanish chroniclers used the Conquest miracles in ways that reflected their cultural identities as *criollos* (Peruvian-born Spaniards). In his 1637 Franciscan chronicle, the *creole* (Peruvian-born) friar Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba asserted that the Virgin had directly favored the Spanish Christians in their battle against “pagan” Indian armies thus strategically inserting Cuzco within universal Christian history. Drawing from biblical frameworks, the Franciscan friar compared the Virgin who appeared in Cuzco with the apocalyptic lady witnessed by Saint John in the Book of Revelations, writing: ¹²¹

at that moment there appeared, as Saint John in his Apocalypse saw, that great signal of the woman, as beautiful as the Moon, chosen by the Son, dreadful [fear-inspiring] like the well-organized armies, and in the guise of fighting, beautifully dressed, radiating glory, and emitting rays from her

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Saint John’s vision of the lady of the apocalypse presents her as pregnant woman who gives birth to children that are immediately devoured by a dragon (Revelations 12:1-4, KJV).

face, flying all around the roof through the air, and with her divine mouth blowing to put out the fire of flaming torches, which hurled about the Indians, without consenting that even one straw should burn, and with her divine hands throwing stones and hail on the opposing squadron, until blinded, and stoned they retired, and our [forces] underneath such a miraculous warriress, obtained victory, afterwards constructing, as a sign of gratitude in that same place, the Cathedral Church of Cuzco.¹²²

By describing the Virgin's heavenly descent in Cuzco as the fulfillment of Old

Testament prophecies, Salinas y Córdova underscored the privileged importance of the Spanish Conquest of Cuzco to the expansion of Christianity.¹²³ In addition, he suggested that the Spanish conquistadors' construction of a Cathedral was not only a powerful memorial of the Virgin's miraculous apparition in Cuzco but likewise a living symbol that reflected the city's privileged Christian history.¹²⁴ While evidence of his biblical erudition, Salinas y Córdova's invocation of the Virgin of the Apocalypse likely reflected his familiarity with European printed images that circulated widely among Spanish elites and inspired monumental paintings produced by indigenous artists in seventeenth-century Cuzco (Figures 28-29).

¹²² Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo* (Lima: Jerónimo Contreras, 1631), 86-87. Here, the Franciscan friar almost directly paraphrases the following New Testament passage: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars," (Revelations 12:1-2, KJV).

¹²³ For a foundational overview of creole patriotism in seventeenth-century Peru as an ideological force shaping understandings of local history, including Salinas' view of the Conquest miracles, see: Brading, *The First America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 293-313.

¹²⁴ The Peruvian architect Emilio Harth-Terré's foundational article documents the controversial construction of the Cathedral of Cuzco using Inca stones taken from the quarry of Sacsahuamán. See: Emilio Harth-Terré, "Las tres fundaciones de la catedral de Cuzco," *Anales del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 2 (1949): 39-87.



Figure 28: (L) Albrecht Dürer, “The Apocalyptic Woman,” 1498 woodcut print.
Figure 29: (R) Diego Quispe Tito, “Immaculate Virgin,” 1627. Oil on canvas ¹²⁵

By the end of the seventeenth-century more than seventy-five percent of artists active in the Cuzco were indigenous and in 1688, indigenous artists established their own guild separate from their European counterparts.¹²⁶ The Cuzco School paintings were widely consumed among culturally diverse publics but encoded meanings that were read differently depending on the visual subjectivity of its viewing public. The historical and

¹²⁵ Image Sources: Albert Dürer “The Apocalyptic Woman, from The Apocalypse, 1498 (1511 Latin edition),” *Metropolitan Museum of Arts*, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/336575>. (Accessed October 9, 2018); José Uriel García, “Escuela cuzqueña de arte colonial. La iglesia de Huaroc,” *Cuadernos Americanos*, México, Vol. CXXVII, no. 3-4 (1963): 166.

¹²⁶ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 78.

stylistic origins of the Cuzco School are linked to the prolific career of the indigenous artist Diego Quispe Tito (1611-1681). While trained by the Jesuit mannerist painter Bernardo Bitti (1548-1610) and inspired by Flemish baroque prints, over the course of his prolific career Quispe Tito distinguished himself from European pictorial traditions by developing a unique compositional style widely popular among patrons in Cuzco, Lima, and Alto Peru (modern-day Bolivia). Throughout his successful career as a painter Quispe Tito received commissions from Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous patrons in the city of Cuzco as nearby indigenous parishes.¹²⁷ For example, in 1660, local *curacas* [hereditary lords] from Cuzco commissioned he produce a series of five paintings depicting the life of Saint John the Baptist and the infancy of Jesus Christ for their parish church of San Sebastián.¹²⁸

Contrasting with the anonymity of many colonial-era paintings, Quispe Tito often signed the nearly thirty paintings of his that decorate Cuzco's churches, convents, and nearby parishes.¹²⁹ Through his varied signatures—including *Diego Quispi Titu inga* [Diego Quispe Tito Inca] in 1627 and *Diego Quispi Titu-inga inbento* [Invented by Diego Quispe Tito Inca] in 1667—he not only asserted his authority as an artist but also

¹²⁷ Between 1640 and 1681, he produced a series of monumental paintings to decorate the Church of the parish of San Sebastián where he was born.

¹²⁸ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Una aproximación a la historia de la pintura cuzqueña: De los orígenes a la “era Mollinedo” (1560-1700),” in *Pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 31.

¹²⁹ Cuzco is home to twenty-nine of the thirty-three paintings attributed to Quispe Tito, and the other four paintings are evenly divided between Lima and Potosi. *Ibid.*, 63.

proclaimed his cultural identity as a member of Cuzco's Inca nobility.¹³⁰ The historical impact of Quispe Tito's artistic production is reflected by the fact that he was later recognized as the precursor to the Cuzco School of painting, a pictorial tradition which first emerged around the 1680s and whose famous practitioners included the indigenous painter Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao (1635-1710), active between 1661 and 1700.

Cuzco School painters not only communicated understandings of bicultural power legible to diverse publics, but also formed part of an inter-textual dialogue that included both pictorial and written sources. The numerous and varied paintings of the Conquest miracles locally produced over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries testifies to symbolic purchase within colonial society. A Cuzco School painting of the Virgin of the Sun narrates how Spanish and Andeans articulated shared political claims to a privileged Christian identity that were hashed out on visual battlegrounds (Figure 30).

¹³⁰ When he was sixteen years old, he signed his 1627 painting as "Diego Quispe Tito Inca", and when he was fifty-six years old he signed and dated a commissioned painting in Potosí as "Diego Quispe Titu-inga inbento-del Año D-1667]. José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1962), 63-64.



Figure 30: Anonymous Cuzco School, “Miraculous Apparition of the Virgin in Cuzco.” Late 17th early 18th century, oil on canvas, 282 x 239 cm. Complejo Museográfico Enrique Udaondo. Luján, Argentina.¹³¹

After its 1901 discovery in a convent outside of Argentina, this painting of the Virgin of the Sunturhuasi ignited scholarly debates concerning the image’s historical relationship to the Cathedral of Cuzco.¹³² The painting was initially dated to between 1615 and 1654, as the former date corresponds to the early Cathedral’s construction and

¹³¹ *Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano* (hereafter, ARCHI). “Virgen del Sunturhuasi. ID 02.000563.00.

¹³² Juan Bautista Ambrosetti, *Un documento gráfico de etnografía peruana de la época colonial*. Buenos Aires: Imprenta y casa editora "Juan A. Alsina", 1910;

the latter refers to the creation of the “Monumento de Triunfo” built to annex the Cathedral.¹³³ However, since the Cathedral of Cuzco was destroyed by a 1650 earthquake and the painting appears to have served as an original visual source for late eighteenth-century versions of the same theme, recent scholars have dated the painting to the final decades of the 17th century and the early 18th century.¹³⁴ Regardless of its problematic dating, art historian Luisa Elena Alcalá asserts that “given the subject and its relationship to the site its ambitious artistic and compositional qualities compared to other surviving versions, and the presence of its inscription” which is notably absent from other eighteenth-century paintings/copies, the Luján’s painting evidently “belonged either to the cathedral or the chapel/church of the Triunfo complex.”¹³⁵

In the painting’s central foreground, the hieratic image of the Virgin appears above the thatched roof of the Sunturhuasi stretching out her blue mantle over the group of Inca soldiers who fall backwards beneath her feet. Amid the chaotic scene, several Inca soldiers standing closest to the Inca building are poised to launch their flaming arrows up at the celestial figure. Significantly, the artist has also depicted another recognizable Inca structure in the painting’s left-hand background: the fortified tower of

¹³³ Héctor Schenone, Andrea Jáuregui, and José Emilio Burucúa, “Circulación de grabados e imagen religiosa en la cultura Barroca de la América del Sur: Un estudio de caso.” *Lecturas de historia del arte* 4 (1994): 321.

¹³⁴ Gabriela Siracusano, Rosanna Kuon, Marta Maier, and Daniela Parera. "Colores para el milagro. Una aproximación interdisciplinaria al estudio de pigmentos en un caso singular de la iconografía colonial andina." In *Actas del II Congreso del GEIIC. Investigación en Conservación y Restauración*, vol. 9, 2005, n.p.

¹³⁵ Luisa Elena Alcalá, “Miraculous Apparition of the Virgin in Cusco,” in *The Colonial Andes. Tapestries and Silverwork 1530-1830* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 152.

Sacsayhuamán where the Apostle Saint James miraculously descended from heaven to liberate the Spanish forces from the Inca armies that surrounded them. Moreover, the presence of flaming torches in the hands of the indigenous soldiers recalls what Guaman Poma termed the “first” miracle of Conquest in which Manco Inca failed to light the *cuyusmango* on fire.

The image’s inscription textually mirrors the Franciscan chronicler Salinas y Córdoba’s 1637 providential account of the Cuzco miracle as forming part of a universal Christian narrative. Since historical sites in Cuzco and significant biblical passages are referenced in the painting’s legend, it is worth citing in its entirety:

The conquistadors in this Kingdom found themselves overcome by the inhuman strength of the multitude of infidel Indians who relentlessly pursued them and to finish off the Relics they reduced the few Spaniards to a covered shed and set all its parts on fire and it was Maria S.S.N. was seen in the air like *the Divine Aurora scattering from her Glorious Mantle a copious spray with which she extinguished the voracity of the fire liberating those who judged themselves to be miserable spoils of war showing herself as a flaming sun and with the influence of her Divine Rays she blinded the idolatrous persons from their cruel intentions awakening in them the First lights of the faith taking this Great Lady from then on with her Divine Soles Possession of this blessed site consecrating it in heaven her grandiosity in whose Memory and Remembrance the Spanish piety erected this Magnificent Temple. This Marvelous miracle happened in the year 1535. In commemoration of that Patron. This work was completed on the [...] of May in the year [...] in the very Illustrious City of Cuzco. Introibimus in tabernaculum eius, adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius. PSL. 131.*¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Emphasis my own. The original text in Spanish also includes a Latin inscription: “Hallándose los conquistadores deste Reyno acosados de una multitud de yndios ynfeles y rredu[cidos a las pare]des de un galpón en donde su fureza ynhumana le pego fuego por todas partes para acabar las Reliquias que los pocos Españoles se dejó ver en el ayre MARIA S.S.N. como Divina Auorora esparciendo de su Glorioso Manto

The legend underscores how the Virgin's dual role as crusading warrior and a celestial deity altered indigenous physical, spiritual and geographic states. By launching "copious sprays" of water and dust from her "glorious Mantle," the Virgin not only extinguishes the Inca fires that threatened the lives of the Spanish soldiers, but her physical appearance served to disarm indigenous soldiers by blinding the "idolatrous persons from their cruel intentions." Similarly, the painting's reference to the Virgin Mary as "a Divine Aurora... a flaming sun that by influences of its Divine Rays blinded the idolaters," recalls both Garcilaso de la Vega's and Guaman Poma's visually-inflected descriptions of the Virgin's apparition over the Sunturhuasi as a woman "with great splendor and beauty" who shined so brightly in the night sky that she illuminated the spiritual darkness of Andean souls.¹³⁷

un copioso rroicio con que apagó la voracidad del fuego librando a los que se juzgaban miserable despoxo de sus llamas mostrándose flamante sol que a ynfluxos de sus Divinos Rayos deslumbró a los ydolatras de su cruel yntento despertándolos a las Primeras luzes de la fe tomando desde entonces esta Gran Señora con sus Divinas Plantas Posesión deste dichoso sitio consagrándole en cielo a su grandeza a cuia Memoria y R[ecuerdo] erigió la piedad española esta Magnífico templo. Sucedió esta Mara[vi]lloso milagro el año de mil [y qui]nientos [treinta] y [cinco]. En [commemoraci]ón de tal Patr[o]na. Acabose esta obra en [la muy] Ylustre Ciudad del Cuzco [el....de] Maio [...]."*Introibimus in tabernaculum eius, adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius. PSL. 131.*" For an analysis of the paintings iconographic program alongside its textual inscription, see Alcalá, "Miraculous Apparition of the Virgin in Cusco," 150-152.

¹³⁷ "Como Divina Aurora... flamante sol que a ynfluxos de sus Divinos Rayos deslumbró a los Ydolatras." (Painting); Garcilaso "Nuestra Señora con grandísimo resplandor y hermosura, se puso delante de ellos. Los infieles mirando aquella maravilla quedaban pasmados." *Comentarios Reales*, Part II, Book 1, Chapter 25.

On the one hand, by acknowledging the Virgin's visual intercession as consecrating the "blessed site" of the Sunturhuasi (referred to as a covered shed) and "taking possession" over its Inca space, the text affirms the spiritual agency of the Spanish conquistadors as patrons who constructed the Cathedral of Cuzco.¹³⁸ Significantly, the legend's Latin citation to Psalm 131 refers to how the biblical King David installed the Arc of the Covenant in Jerusalem to spiritually commemorate his triumph over his enemies as a providential victory. By invoking an Old Testament passage, the artist textually links the Spanish Monarch with King David, suggesting both sovereigns were divinely-elected rulers who expanded Christendom's territorial expanse so that the celestial "diadem could radiate" over conquered populations. Ultimately, the painting's textual inscription presents the Spanish as triumphant conquistadors over idolatrous Indians and the Christian patrons of Cuzco's cathedral.¹³⁹

Significantly, while the painting's lengthy inscription claims the Spanish conquistadors as victors over Andean idolatry, its visual content troubles these claims by stressing indigenous populations' immediate embrace of the Virgin as their own earthly protector and spiritual ally. The painting's distinctive visual and textual narration testifies to how indigenous, mestizo, and Spanish artists and authors channeled the apparition of

¹³⁸ On Salinas and a possible connection with Guaman Poma, see: Pierre Duviols, "Guaman Poma, historiador del Perú antiguo: una nueva pista," *Revista Andina* 1 (1983):103-115.

¹³⁹ The discursive transformation of the Virgin's 1536 apparition in Cuzco from its emblematic status as a symbol of Spanish triumph over resistant Incas to its appropriation by indigenous populations today is discussed in Pierre Duviols, "Les traditions miraculeuses du siège du Cuzco (1536) et leur fortune littéraire," *Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg* 40, no. 7 (1962): 393-400.

the Virgin and the Apostle Saint James in Cuzco to serve multiple, at times contradictory agendas, which all related to the hegemonic discourse of triumphant Christianity. By representing the Virgin's apparition in Cuzco as a pacific endeavor of indigenous conversion, late seventeenth and eighteenth-century artists suggested that Andean populations had long embraced the Christian religion of Spanish colonizers. Just as the Virgin's descent of the Sunturhuasi was framed as a pacific encounter—one in which indigenous populations were neutralized not with military arms but with celestial pellets of dust, dew, or sand—seventeenth-century populations adopted Saint James, not as the violent saint of the Spanish Conquest, but as the protector of Inca Christian elites.

Embodying Triumphant Catholicism in Urban Cuzco

Both the descendants of Spanish conquistadors as well as members of Cuzco's Inca nobility processed on Saint James's feast day, a city-wide celebration that commemorated the triumph of the Spanish Conquest. But why would Inca elites choose to render homage to the colonizing Saint James? The centrality of Inca elites within Saint James' public festivities was inextricably tied to the historical development of the *alférez real inca* (the Inca royal standard-bearer)—a colonial institution mutually recognized by the Spanish administration and Cuzco's indigenous nobility.¹⁴⁰ In other words, Santiago's annual feast-day offered indigenous and European elites who had been elected to serve as

¹⁴⁰ On the historical development of the colonial institution of *alférez real inca*, including the establishment of a council of twenty-four electors from eight parishes in Cuzco to oversee indigenous elections, see: Donato Amado, *El estandarte real y la mascapaycha: historia de una institución inca colonial* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial), 2017.

alfereces reales with the opportunity to display their institutional privilege and to lay claim to noble status.

The participation of indigenous elites within the city's religious and civic processions, is likewise reflected in a monumental series of paintings depicting *Corpus Christi* which included representations of the bishop of Cuzco, Don Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo (1673-1699), as well as indigenous elites who also served as artistic patrons.¹⁴¹ In one painting likely of indigenous manufacture, an indigenous *alférez real* (royal standard-bearer) from the native parish of Santiago, established by the Viceroy Toledo in the 1570s, leading a triumphal cart containing the images of Saint Jerome and Saint James (Figure 31).

As we can see in the image below, while the sculpted image of Saint Jerome faces the end of the triumphal cart, the statue of Saint James dressed in white faces frontally, mirroring the indigenous *alférez real* bearing a lavishly-embroidered white standard who leads the procession. The elaborate *mascaypacha* (royal red fringe) crown worn by the indigenous elite—a reference to their Inca nobility—is visually echoed by the pilgrim hat decorated with large ostrich feathers worn by Santiago. Moreover, the red cross displayed on the statue of Saint James establishes a symbolic parallel with the large solar pectoral worn on the Inca nobleman's chest, though the former denotes the Spanish military order

¹⁴¹ On the development of the Cuzco School of painting as relates to the art patronage of the bishop Mollinedo, see: Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Una aproximación a la historia de la pintura cuzqueña: De los orígenes a la "era Mollinedo" (1560-1700)." In *Pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2016), 19-38.

of Santiago while the latter relates to the Inca solar cult.¹⁴² Lastly, the processional statue of Santiago recalls the mummified bodies of Inca sovereigns carried on litters to be honored publicly.

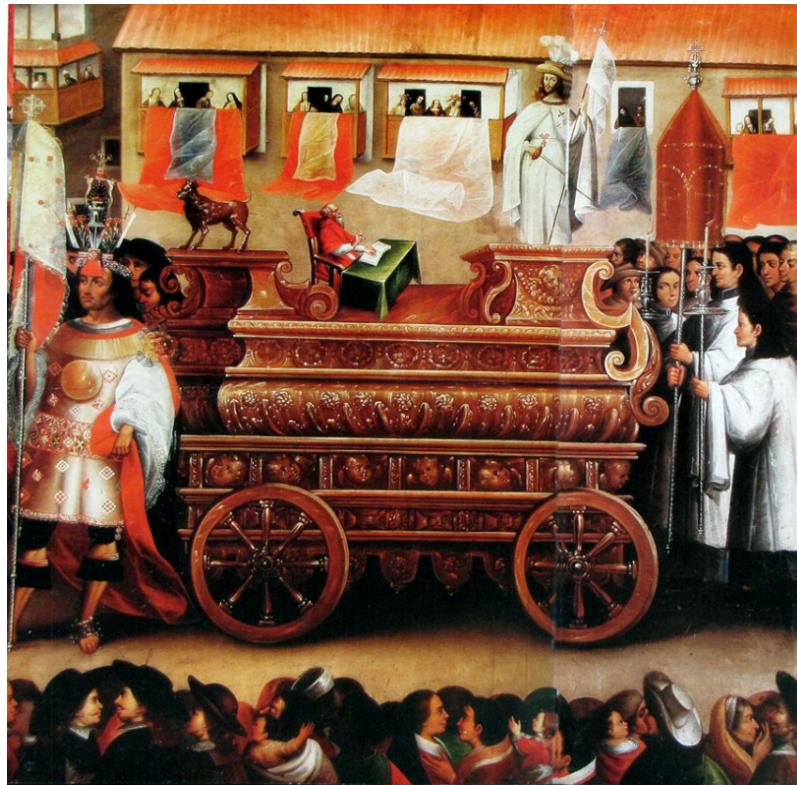


Figure 31: Attributed to Basilio de Santa Cruz Pumacallao. “Santiago Parish,” ca. 1674-1680. Oil on Canvas. Museo Arzobispal del Cuzco. Cuzco, Peru.¹⁴³

Except for the sculpted crusader saint and a multi-ethnic group of onlookers pictured in the image’s lower-most register, Spanish persons are notably absent.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Indigenous elites from Cuzco depicted in a series of large-scale paintings of Corpus Christi processions in Cuzco dating from the late seventeenth-century performed a “studied hybridity” by wearing modified Inca crowns and royal regalia alongside European luxury fabrics. Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cusco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 122-123.

¹⁴³ Image Source: *Ibid.*, Plate III.

Further supporting the painting's visual emphasis on re-presenting Inca nobility, is the fact that the seated statue of Saint Jerome—accompanied by his symbol, the lion—directly faces the standing Apostle Saint James, as if actively engaged in composing a new gospel, one that would glorify the history of Inca-Christianity while omitting the violence of conquest. The fact that Saint James is depicted without a horse and with his sword facing downwards, as if disarmed, and there are no vanquished Inca soldiers lying at his feet further likewise suggests Santiago's transfiguration in the Andes from bellicose Spanish colonizer into powerful celestial deity.

The fact that other Cuzco school paintings exist showcase the Apostle Saint brandishing a thunderbolt instead of a sword—a creative iconographic depiction of an Andean re-interpretation of the Spanish Apostle as the sun of thunder “Illapa”— suggests how indigenous populations might have symbolically and visually invoked Santiago's celestial power through references to *illapa* lightning/thunder/thunderbolt.¹⁴⁵ While the seventeenth-century indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma noted that Saint James was

¹⁴⁴ The stylistic influence of Quispe Tito on the *Corpus Christi* paintings is reflected by the representation of colorful birds—a symbolic reference to Inca nobility—and the location of disembodied spectators within the paintings' bottom-most register. Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 98-99

¹⁴⁵ Though lightning, thunder, and thunderbolts were all referred to as *illapa*, indigenous populations distinguished them from one another using verbs in which references to sight implied lightning, sound implied thunder, and if the *illapa* had fallen to cause damage they meant a thunderbolt. Moreover, the Spanish harquebuses were also called *illapa* “given their resemblance” to the latter as instruments which produced the sight, sound, and damage of all three *illapa* phenomena (lightning, thunder, and a lightningbolt). Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, Part I, Book Three, Chapter 21 “The cloister of the temple and the dwelling places of the Moon, stars, thunder, lightning, and rainbow,” (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 182.

considered a Viracocha (deity) descended from the telluric god *Illapa*, meaning lightning, thunderbolt, and thunder, his mestizo contemporary Garcilaso de la Vega claimed that Andean populations believed he carried *illapa* in his hand.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, Garcilaso also described how sixteenth-century indigenous parishioners in Cuzco reacted to a painting of Saint James that decorated the Cathedral in 1560, writing: “When the Indians saw this painting, they used to say: “It was a Viracocha like this that destroyed us in the square.”¹⁴⁷ Even though the painting is now lost, Garcilaso’s detailed description of the colonized populations’ responses to its symbolic iconography couple suggests it likely represented either *Santiago Matamoros* [Saint James the Moor-Slayer] or *Santiago Mataindos* [Saint James the Indian-Slayer].

In his 1646 *Anales del Perú* (Annuals of Peru), the Spanish priest-chronicler Fernando de Montesinos underscored the visual and sonorous power of Saint James apparition in Cuzco in ways that invoked the specter of colonial Andeans’ ritual veneration of *Santiago-Illapa*. According to Montesinos, as the Spanish saint descended from heaven “on a white horse with a sword of fire in his hands” he came with a clap of thunder, and horse’s hooves gathered up “great clouds of dust” that dazzled and

¹⁴⁶ The juxtaposition of *Santiago-Illapa* may have also related to indigenous populations’ general conceptualization of Spanish military prowess—a power indexed through their thundrous harquebuses and iron-clad horses. Frank Graziano, *The Millennial New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 102-103.

¹⁴⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, Book II, Chapter 25, 806-807.

disoriented the Indians.¹⁴⁸ Years later, the Jesuit priest, philosopher, and playwright Juan de Espinoza Medrano “El Lunarejo” (1629-1688) policed the religious syncretism between the Andean telluric deity *Illapa* and the Christian saint by underscoring Santiago’s identity as a divinely-favored agent of the Spanish Conquest.¹⁴⁹ In a 1660 sermon preached in the Cathedral of Cuzco on Santiago’s annual feast day, Espinoza Medrano declared that “God spoke in the voice of Thunder in favor of the Spaniards, so that the World would understand, that whose Thunder best imitates the voice of God, and whose lighting is the happiest portent of his victories and prosperities.”¹⁵⁰ By describing Santiago’s thunderous noise and the blinding lighting, Medrano recalled Andean visions of the saint’s telluric power as *yllapa*. Though suggesting the cultural interpenetrations of the Andean *Illapa* and the Conquest Saint, the Catholic priest also attempted to fix Santiago’s colonial identity as the Spaniards’ Christian saint.

The Catholic priest Medrano was not the only one to harness the destructive, telluric power of the Conquest saint to further consolidate colonial Christianity. After a

¹⁴⁸ “[...]pónese delante Santiago con un espada de fuego en la mano en un caballo blanco; el fuego de la espada deslumbraba á los indios, los pies del caballo hacían grandes polvaredas, con que los indios no sabían qué hacerse. Los castellanos mataron infinitos indios, con cuiá pérdida se retiró Mango Inga á las fortalecas de Tambo.” Fernando de Montesinos and Victor Manuel Maurtua, *Anales del Perú* [1646] (Madrid: Imp. de Gabriel L. y del Horno, 1906), Vol. I, 89-90.

¹⁴⁹ For a more extensive rhetorical analysis of Medrano’s sermon in relation to political and religious power in colonial Cuzco, see: José A. Rodríguez Garrido, “Sermón barroco y poder colonial: la oración panegírica al apóstol Santiago de Espinosa Medrano,” in *Discurso colonial hispanoamericano* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 115-130.

¹⁵⁰ Juan de Espinosa Medrano, “Oración panegyrica en la festividad del glorioso apóstol Santiago, patrón de las Españas en la iglesia cathedral del Cuzco [...] Año de 1660.” In *La Novena Maravilla Nuebamente hallada en los Panegyricos sagrados* (Madrid: Impreso por Joseph de Rueda, 1695), 155-156.

massive 1650 earthquake ravaged Cuzco, the city's governing elites again invoked the miraculous intercession of Santiago and the Virgin Mary. On December 7, 1651, Cuzco's secular and religious officials congregated in the Cathedral to select two patron saints to be celebrated in the annual civic-religious festivities.¹⁵¹ During their election, the officials of Cuzco determined that since she was the "most beautiful and revered image of the city and its entire bishopric," the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception known as "La Linda" should serve as the patroness of the Bishopric of Cuzco.¹⁵² Considering the testimony of "ancient traditions" concerning the city's "conquest and pacification," they also elected the Apostle Saint James who had miraculously interceded "in favor of the Spaniards against the Indians" as Cuzco's second patron saint.¹⁵³

Besides Santiago's ritual commemoration in public sermons, religious paintings, and ritual processions, members of Cuzco's secular elites also visualized their devotion to the city's patron saint by financing private chapels annexed to Cuzco's Cathedral. On December 18, 1654, a priest in charge of the Cathedral's *fábrica* (money dedicated to construction or renovation) together with two master architects from Cuzco assessed the

¹⁵¹ Diego de Esquivel y Navía, *Noticias cronológica de Cuzco* [1742] (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 99-100.

¹⁵² Moreover, when Cuzco established its own Spanish militia under orders of the Viceroy of Peru Conde de Santisteban in 1666, the city's cabildo also elected the Virgin Mary to serve as the patron saint of Spanish arms. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 119.

¹⁵³ The original Spanish concerning the Virgin "La Linda" reads "[...] la hechura más hermosa y más devota de esta ciudad y todo su obispado" and in reference to Santiago Apostle, "por haber sido quien milagrosament tuvo gran parte en su conquista y pacificación, peleando visiblemente a favor de los españoles contra los indios, según lo testifica la tradición antigua derivada de unos en otros." *Ibid.* Vol. II, 101.

value of a chapel beside the Cathedral's that functioned as its sacristy in the light of the Spanish Doctor Captain Don Diego del Pecho de Vera desire to purchase it for "his own burial and for his children and descendants" for perpetuity. Given that the Spanish Captain was "one of the city's principle knights" whose family had served the Castilian Crown as well as the Catholic Kings, his offer of sale was agreed to with the following stipulation. Not only would he pay the chapel's "just value" of 3,200 pesos, but would also devote the chapel-crypt to the Spanish crusader saint who served as the "patron and titular [saint]" of the city of Cuzco [Santiago] and furnish it with necessary accoutrements for his cult.¹⁵⁴ Ultimately, Don Diego agreed to the terms of sale, and vowed to commission an altarpiece containing the image of the Glorious Apostle Santiago worth around 1,000 pesos (Figure 32).¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ *Archivo Arzobispal de Cuzco* (hereafter AAC), Book of Cathedral Censos, XVII, 1, 3, 1654, fols. 213v-217r. "Porque era preciso y debido de dedicarle capilla al santo Apóstol Santiago por ser Patrono y Tutelar de la dicha Santa Yglesia y no la teniendo..." Fol. 215r.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Fol. 214v.



Figure 32: (L) Altarpiece in the Chapel of Santiago with (R) detail of central painting depicting Saint James the Indian-Slayer. Cathedral of Cuzco, Cuzco, Peru.¹⁵⁶

Despite the Cathedral’s altar-piece painting of Santiago, notably few seventeenth-century Cuzco School images of the equestrian Saint James exist. However, the iconographic similarity between seventeenth-century paintings of Santiago Matamoros [Saint James the Moor-Slayer] (Figure 33) and eighteenth-century versions of *Santiago Mataindios* [Saint James the Indian-Slayer] (Figure 34) suggests how visual representations the “Old World” Santiago were used as prototypes upon which the “New World” Santiago was modeled.

¹⁵⁶ Image Source: (L) Jorge A. Flores Ochoa, et al. *Tesoros de la Catedral del Cusco* (Cuzco: Arzobispado de Cuzco, 2013), 227. (R) *Arte Colonial Americano* (hereafter ARCA). ID 4183.



Figure 33: (L)- Anonymous Cuzco School, “Saint James the Moor-Slayer in the Battle of Clavijo.” Late 17th century, oil on canvas. 165.5 cm x 131 cm. Museo de Pedro de Osma, Lima, Peru.

Figure 34: (R)- Anonymous Cuzco School, “Saint James the Indian-Slayer.” Oil on Canvas, early 18th century, Garcilaso, Museo Regional Cuzco, Peru.¹⁵⁷

It is possible that the patron of the eighteenth-century image—perhaps a member of Cuzco’s ecclesiastical clergy—even stipulated in his contract with the artist that the commissioned painting should be modeled after a seventeenth-century prototype. While powerfully invoking memories of the Spanish Conquest, these two Cuzco School paintings also reflected how colonized populations adopted Saint James as a religious

¹⁵⁷ Image Sources: (L) Museo Pedro de Osma. *Libro Museo Pedro de Osma* (Lima: Fundación Pedro y Angélica de Osma Gildemeister, 2014), 101. Original Title “Santiago matamoros” (R) ARCHI. Santiago Mata Indios. ID 02.000562.001.

symbol to signify not only Spanish victory but also their own historical conversion to Christianity.¹⁵⁸

In both paintings, the Apostle Saint James, astride a white horse and wearing a pilgrim's hat, is prominently featured trampling a group of dark-skinned soldiers who lie submissively with their arms stretched-out, holding up shields to protect themselves from the saint's drawn sword. Moreover, both the seventeenth-century image depicting *Santiago Matamoros* and the eighteenth-century image of *Santiago Mataindios* are set within sparsely populated, mountainous landscapes. Taken together both images provide visual testimony of the historical process in which Saint James was creatively transformed from the Spanish conquistadors' *Reconquista* saint into a powerful marker of colonial Andean Christianity.

Interestingly, the eighteenth-century painting includes two notable features that frame the centrally-located Saint James: a tall, leafy tree populated by exotic birds to his left, and a diminutive group of Spanish cavalymen to his right. While the artist's inclusion of colorful birds—symbols of Inca nobility—underscores the elite status of the vanquished indigenous soldiers—the figuration of disproportionately-small soldiers on horseback to the rear of Saint James calls to mind chroniclers' descriptions of the equestrian Apostle as leading the Spanish troops into battle against the Incas. Moreover,

¹⁵⁸ For an insightful analysis of the symbolic power of the "Inca" motif within another Cathedral painting referenced by Garcilaso representing the dynastic succession of Inca kings and Spanish emperors, see: Gustavo Buntix and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "Incas y reyes españoles en la pintura colonial peruana: la estela de Garcilaso," *Márgenes. Encuentro y Debate* 4, no. 8 (1991): 151-210.

the figuration of a Spanish conquistador on a white horse in the Santiago Mataindios painting parallels chroniclers' accounts of how indigenous populations mistook the equestrian saint for other Spanish conquistadors that were notably absent during the 1536 siege.¹⁵⁹ The verticality of Santiago's raised sword and its parallel position to the indigenous trumpeter with his *pututu* also invokes to the multi-sensory power of Saint James referenced in seventeenth-century writings.¹⁶⁰

While the late seventeenth-century indigenous artist Basilio Pumacallao figured Saint James as a pilgrim rather than a warrior in his *Corpus Christi* painting (Figure 12), later Cuzco School painters developed creative iconographic compositions whose pictorial content bridged temporal and geographic distinctions. Just as cultural practices of viewing celestial power informed Santiago's seventeenth-century associations with the Andean telluric deity *Illapa*, eighteenth-century paintings invoked the iconographic symbolism of the Spanish *Reconquista* saint and the New World Apostle-pilgrim to fashion new meanings that spoke to their diverse cultural audiences. One anonymous eighteenth-century painting illustrates how the political agendas of both Spanish and Inca elites were reconciled through the visual juxtaposition of Saint James engaged in violent

¹⁵⁹ Sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers claimed that the indigenous armies of Manco Capac mistakenly identified Saint James with several Spanish conquistadors with white horses including Alonso de Mesa, Mancio Sierra, and Francisco Pizarro—all of whom were absent from Cuzco at the time of the siege.

¹⁶⁰ The Inca used trumpets made from conch shells called *pututus* for martial events, metal trumpets for shrine offerings, gourd for imperial posts, and bone trumpets wrought from dog skulls for regular festivals. Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 269.

battle against Old World Muslims and his pacific interactions with New World Incas
(Figure 35).¹⁶¹



Figure 35: Anonymous Cuzco School. “Apparition of Saint James the Moor-Killer during the Siege of Cuzco,” 1720-1770, oil on canvas. Colección Llosa Larrabure, Lima, Perú.¹⁶²

In contrast with the foreground battle-scene, the painting’s background register depicts early pacific encounters between the Incas and Spanish conquistadors in and around the capital of Cuzco. On the far-left corner, an indigenous couple offer a platter

¹⁶¹ Ramón Mújica Pinilla, “Apuntes sobre moros y turcos en el imaginario andino virreinal,” *Anuario de historia de la Iglesia*, N°. 16 (2007): 169-180.

¹⁶² ARCHI. Santiago Matamoros con escena de la captura del inca en Cajamarca. ID 02.000006.001.

with gold to a Spanish soldier on horseback, thus suggesting that Manco Inca and his vassals had initially welcomed the Spaniards with open arms and a bounty of treasures. Moreover, the Inca on his litter is situated directly above the centrally-located Spanish crusaders charging against the fleeing Moorish soldiers, symbolically linking Manco Inca with the Spanish colonizers with whom he was initially allied (Figures 16a-c). By considering the painting's additional title— "Saint James the Moor-Killer and an episode from the Inca's capture in Cajamarca"—a secondary reading of the painting's iconography is possible.



Figure 35a: (L) Inca on the steps of the Sacsayhuaman fortress with conch-shell trumpet.

Figure 35b: (C) Spanish conquistador on horseback before two Inca elites.

Figure 35c: (R) The Inca on his litter.

If the background scene depicts the earliest Spanish-Inca encounters in the fortified city of Cajamarca, then the Inca ruler descending from the far-left hand corner on his litter is Atahualpa, who was considered by the supporters of his elder brother

Huascar to be an illegitimate usurper of the throne. When the Spanish conquistadores led by Francisco Pizarro first arrived in Cajamarca, the Inca Atahualpa voluntarily offered them indigenous brides and treasures. However, Atahualpa was later imprisoned, and, notwithstanding his ransom payment of tons of silver and gold, he was publicly executed by garroting.¹⁶³ However, the historical violence of the Spanish Conquest has been visually excised and symbolically transferred from living Andean bodies to the defeated corpses of Moors. Regardless of the painting's specific geography—Cuzco or Cajamarca—Saint James takes on the figuration of both Moor-Killer *and* a Pilgrim-Warrior, one whose symbolic attributes serve as indices of Spanish politico-religious imperialism. Rather than a sword, the Apostle Saint carries a triumphant banner with the coat-of-arms of Castile and León, thus ritually enacting the Crown's possession of the New World territory. While a reflection of Spanish Catholic hegemony, this image also constitutes a symbolic attack that challenges fixed understandings of Saint James. Specifically, the image engages with Spanish and Andean audiences by reconciling Santiago's militant Spanish identity a *Reconquista* saint with his pacific status as an Apostle-pilgrim embraced by Inca-Christians.

¹⁶³ In the city of Cajamarca, for example, the Inca Atahualpa tried to bribe the Spanish conquistadors into leaving by offering them indigenous brides. Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), Fol. 379 [381]. Despite melting down tons of silver and gold to pay his ransom, in July 1533 he was publicly executed by garroting. See John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2012), 23-70; and Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 106-135.

At the same time as Cuzco's Spanish elites rendered homage to Saint James in private chapels, members of the city's indigenous nobility performed their Christian devotion through public rituals and by commissioning votive paintings in which they figured them as donor-devotees. Under the administration of the Carmelite bishop of, Bernardo Serrada, the Church of the Triumph was constructed between 1729 and 1732 on top of a primitive shrine that annexed Cuzco's Cathedral.¹⁶⁴ Since it was hailed to have been erected on the geographic site of the Virgin's apparition over the Sunturhuasi, the Church of Triumph was a geographically symbolic space for Cuzco's populations, both European and Andean, to perform their Christianity.

Just as the Church's stone façade displays Serrada's coat-of-arms, the bishop's artistic legacy is likewise reflected by a series of fourteen canvases attributed to the prolific indigenous painter Marcos Zapata (1710-1773).¹⁶⁵ While indexing the patronage of the Carmelite Bishop, the Church's decorative program also testifies to how Cuzco's indigenous elites deployed Catholic paintings to creatively affirm their privileged Inca-

¹⁶⁴ The first primitive temple to commemorate the Virgin's apparition over the Sunturhuasi was an open chapel located on the left-hand side of the Cathedral and called the *Capilla de Triunfo* "The Chapel of Triumph." Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de Maria en Iberoamérica y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes, 1947), 39.

¹⁶⁵ A native of Madrid and a Carmelite, in 1727 Bernardo de Serrada took possession of the bishopric of Cuzco but died six years later. Despite his short-lived tenure in Cuzco, the bishop Serrada was a zealous patron of the arts who not only ordered the construction and decoration of the Church of Triumph but also commissioned an expensive silver-plated float used to transport the Eucharist during Corpus Christi processions worth \$8,043 pesos.

Christian identities before the multi-ethnic audiences.¹⁶⁶ In one monumental painting decorating the Church's baptistry, Zapata presents the Virgin's apparition in Cuzco as contemporary pacific encounter with Cuzco's living indigenous elites. Contrasting with earlier visual and textual descriptions of the Virgin Mary directly engaging Inca armies by throwing blinding pellets, Zapata represents the "Mother of God" descending over the Sunturhuasi-Temple of Triumph to protectively embrace not only Carmelite Saints but also Christian Incas, her privileged spiritual heirs (Figure 36).



Figure 36: Attributed to Marcos Zapata, "The Virgin of the Descension," ca. 1732-1733. Iglesia del Triunfo, Cuzco, Peru.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Also called Marcos Sapaca Inca, Zapata was among the most famous and productive painters of the Cuzco School during the eighteenth-century, producing over two hundred works with the assistance of his apprentices, some of whom became famous master painters themselves.

¹⁶⁷ ARCHI. Virgen de la descención. ID 02.000014.001.

Just as over a century earlier the Andean chronicler Guaman Poma asserted the primacy of the Inca *cuyus mango* over the Spanish church, the privileged centrality of the Suntuturhuasi is evident in both Zapata's pictorial composition and well as the painting's accompanying inscription which reads: "*Nuestra Madre y Señora de la Dessençion que Bajó de los Cielos a este lugar sagrado de Sundarguaci*" ("Our Mother and Lady of the Descent who Lowered from the Heavens to *this* sacred place of Suntuturhuasi").¹⁶⁸ The fact that the heavenly Virgin is disproportionately larger than the indigenous populations on earth and is ringed by a halo and surrounded by angels testify to her status as a hieratic image. The Virgin's hovering body penetrates the Suntuturhuasi, converting the Inca structure into an outdoor altar-throne. In addition to her physical consecration of Inca space, the Virgin's body serves as a central axis that divines the pictorial composition into two complementary halves which underscore the spiritual and political privilege of its represented indigenous elites—the descendants of the Inca Manco Capac. The Apostle Saint James—pictured above three indigenous males on the compositional left—is symmetrically balanced by the right-hand figuration of the Prophet Saint Elías with an equal number of indigenous females at his feet. In the lunette painting's middle register, the two saints' flank the Virgin, underscoring their position as divine intermediaries symbolically identified with the indigenous devotees pictured beneath them. From their privileged heavenly space, Saint James and Saint Elias kneel while looking up at the

¹⁶⁸ Emphasis my own.

Virgin, mirroring the indigenous persons pictured at their feet. Taken together, the Virgin's earthly and celestial devotees' model how outside viewers should visually render homage to the Mother of God. Similarly, by invoking two saints associated with the Spanish colonial administration—Saint Elias and Saint James—Zapata affirms Cuzco's spiritual geography and political privilege within universal Christendom. Besides creatively inscribing Inca history (Sunturhuasi) within universal Christianity, Zapata also visually constructs a genealogical tree which includes Catholic saints and members of Cuzco's indigenous nobility.¹⁶⁹

While the celestial bodies serve as horizontal bridges unifying indigenous males and females in shared devotion, the Virgin's body serves as a vertical axis positioning human and divine populations within a gendered Andean spatial hierarchy. Saint James—the Spanish crusader who interceded during the 1536 siege of Cuzco—occupies the privileged left-hand male space of *hanan* while Saint Elias—the Old Testament Prophet who promoted the primitive Christian church—is situated within the subordinate yet complementary right-hand side of *hurin* and identified with the painting's female populations.

Besides referring to Andean spatial bipartition or complementary reciprocity, the indigenous painter also invokes the symbolic position of Cuzco as the capital of the Inca

¹⁶⁹ On similar colonial-era paintings from Peru depicting divine patronage—both the Virgin and saints. See, Marcela Corvera Poiré, “La sociedad virreinal bajo la protección divina,” in *Memoria del II Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco. Barroco y fuentes de la diversidad cultural* (Pamplona: Fundación Visión Cultural/Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 2011), 67-78.

Empire of Tawantinsuyu “The Four Corners of the Universe” and symbolic center of cosmological universe. For example, in Zapata’s composition the Virgin Mary stands in for Cuzco, such that both human and divine figures radiate or descend from the Virgin-center-Cuzco. Similarly, the Virgin’s merciful gesture underscores the complementary nature of gendered, Andean spatial hierarchies as she stretches out her protective mantle equally over both male and female devotees. In the same way as the saints and persons’ relationship within Andean spatial hierarchy reflects their relational proximity to the Virgin, the female deity’s directional gaze expresses her own preferentially-gendered favor. Tilting her head to the left, the Virgin looks tenderly at the indigenous males kneeling prostrate beneath her own feet and below Saint James, honoring them as her privileged spiritual children.

Proclaiming themselves to be the descendants of Inca nobility, the men wear large earspools (*tulumpi*) and their heads are wrapped with a multi-colored turban (*llauto*) which includes the royal scarlet fringe or *mascaypacha* in its center. While their clothing appears to be made of European luxury fabrics such as lace, the presence of anthropomorphized pectoral suns on their chests recalls the ancestral cult to the Sun. The fact that the three men carry royal scepters called *topayauri* further highlights their political claims as the legitimate descendants of the Inca worthy of honorific privileges

granted by the Crown and recognized by Cuzco's religious and secular community.¹⁷⁰ It is possible that the men served as *alfereces incas* (Incan royal standard-bearers) or *mayordomos* (elected officials) within their indigenous Catholic brotherhoods—administrative positions often restricted to wealthy, powerful elites.¹⁷¹

Through the lavish traditional clothing, the three elite women pictured to the right of the Virgin likewise perform their status as members of the indigenous nobility. Like Inca *coyas* [princesses] the women wear white *ñañaca* head-wraps and covering their shoulders with black *lliclla* mantles trimmed with brown fringe and likely fastened together by a *tupu* (pin) wrought from gold or silver. The women, like their male counterparts, hold large silver candlesticks while also clasping an indeterminate heart-shaped object to their chests whose red color calls to mind the sacred red *ñukch'u* or *cantuta*—flowers symbolically linked to Inca royalty that were ritually offered to cult images such as the Lord of Earthquakes and likewise used in funerary ceremonies.¹⁷² Notwithstanding its unspecified nature, like the red *mascaypachas* adorning the heads of the indigenous men, the red objects carried by the females triggers symbolic associations

¹⁷⁰ Though the Inca deity of the sun, called *Punchao*, was depicted in anthropomorphic form, these colonial *curacas* wear golden pectorals with a Europeanized sun. Ibid. Footnote 11, 248

¹⁷¹ For an historical analysis of how Inca iconography was marshalled in by indigenous elites to claims noble status, see: Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "La descendencia real y el 'renacimiento inca' en el virreinato," In *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2005), 175-251.

¹⁷² The *cantuta* flower, called the "royal flower of the Inca," is honored as Peru's national flower. Sebastian Ferrero, "Representación de la naturaleza y el espacio en la pintura andina de los siglos XVII y XVIII" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2017), 237-239.

with Inca royalty and ritual devotion to venerated image-objects.¹⁷³ Though the three indigenous couples are generically represented, their exhibition of Inca regalia and pictorial presence suggests their performative privilege as elite nobles descended from the Inca.¹⁷⁴ Most likely, these unidentified elites were *caciques* or members of indigenous hereditary nobility exempt from paying Crown tribute and thus capable of financing lavish religious festivals or even commissioning devotional artworks in which they are represented conventionally through donor portraits.¹⁷⁵

Like Guaman Poma, Zapata deploys textual and iconographic symbols to present a miracle of Conquest—the Virgin’s 1536 “Descent” over Sunturhuasi-Cuzco—as the originary site of a new Inca-Christian genealogy.¹⁷⁶ By textually affirming the Virgin’s descent over “this site” (Sunturhuasi), Zapata strategically inscribes past and present Inca populations within a universal Christian history that includes biblical figures (the Prophet Elías) and warrior-pilgrim (the Apostle Saint James). By visually positioning “Our Lady

¹⁷³ Colonial-era portraits of Inca *coyas* (queens), Inca *pallas* (princesses), and their female descendents often show them holding small woven bags called *chchuspa* or *chuspa* which were used to carry coca leaves—ceremonial offerings to the Sun god during Inca times. Inca royal dress and its sumptuary prescriptions are described in Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, Book 4, Chapter 2, 198, and Chapter 3, 199.

¹⁷⁴ For information on the cultural significance and gender differences associated with indigenous clothing, see Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 2004), 16-41.

¹⁷⁵ According to Teresa Gisbert, by the seventeenth century the *curacas* resorted to symbolic displays of their traditional authority and often commissioned artworks to bolster their prestige. See: Teresa Gisbert, “Los curacas del Collao y la conformación de la cultura mestiza,” *Senri Ethnological Studies* 33 (1992): 52-102.

¹⁷⁶ Long before the Spanish arrived, the Incas revised history to publicize the heroic deeds of powerful rulers. Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009), 23.

of the Descent” as the Matriarch of a universal Christian lineage, Zapata presents the represented indigenous devotees/donors as the successive heirs to an Inca-Christian genealogy whose extensive bloodline included Jesus Christ and Manco Inca.

In 1788, Padre Ignacio del Castro (1733-1792), the priest of Cuzco’s San Jerónimo parish and Rector of the College of San Bernardo, produced a lengthy chronicle commemorating the foundation of a Royal Audiencia in Cuzco while underscoring the importance of the city’s religious foundation.¹⁷⁷ The Spanish colonization of Peru, Castro argued, formed part of a providential design as God used the violent fraternal wars between Atahualpa and his brother Huáscar to allow the Spanish Crown to assert its “just title” over the empty Inca throne. In addition to the Inca’s civil war, however, indigenous populations’ fears initially provided the Spanish with a psychological advantage, given that:

...in the beginning that they thought them Gods; that they were persuaded that the rider and horse were one piece; that upon seeing them smoke tobacco they judged that they feed on fire, and that lightning quivered in their rifles; adding not little that they saw the diverse coloration of their faces.¹⁷⁸

Given that the Spanish were severely outnumbered by the armies of the Inca Manco Capac, Castro inquires “how could they have triumphed so easily without

¹⁷⁷ Ignacio de Castro, *Relación de la fundación de la Real Audiencia del Cuzco en 1788, y de las fiestas con que esta grande y fidelísima ciudad celebró este honor* (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra), 1795.

¹⁷⁸ “[...]que al principio lo creyeron Dioses; que se persuadian que el ginete y el caballo eran una sola pieza; que juzgaban se alimentaban del fuego al verlos fumar su tabaco, y que vibraban rayos en sus fusiles; añadiendo no poco el diverso color que veían en sus caras.” Ibid., 32.

heaven's special assistance?"¹⁷⁹ Answering his rhetorical question and dismissing the presence of thousands of indigenous allies who supported Spanish troops, Castro asserts that the Spanish soldiers could only resist Manco Inca's siege of the city because "the Apostle Santiago the great patron of the Spains, and the Blessed Mary made themselves visible," lending aid to the Spanish Christian forces.¹⁸⁰ Even after Spanish military victory, indigenous populations would not have converted to the colonizers' religion if not for their eyewitnessing of the 1536 miracles in Cuzco. He explains:

The adherence of these Idolaters to their ancient cult and religion, the contempt they make of the Christianity that is preached to them; the contrary maxims to their own customs which it proposes; to hear this doctrine from those mouths such abhorred by them; there were unbeatable obstacles against keeping them from being carried away by illusions, if those apparitions had not passed through this class [of people].¹⁸¹

Besides being a zealous defender of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Castro believed that the inhabitants of Cuzco were particularly indebted to the Virgin Mary given her miraculous intercession during the wars of conquest.¹⁸² Contrasting with seventeenth and eighteenth-century Cuzco school

¹⁷⁹ My translation from the original Spanish: "¿como era fácil que triunfasen sin ayuda especial del Cielo?" Ibid., 31.

¹⁸⁰ "[...] no era fácil se contrarrestase sin auxilio extraordinario de Dios. El gran Patron de las Españas Santiago Apóstol, y María Santísima se hicieron visibles para este auxilio." Ibid., 32.

¹⁸¹ "El apego de estos Idólatras á su antiguo culto y religion, el desprecio que hacian de la christiana que se les predicaba; las máximas contrarias á sus costumes que ella proponia; el oír esta doctrina de unas bocas que tanto aborrecian; eran invencibles obstáculos para que se dexasen llevar de ilusiones, si no pasarán de esta clase aquellas apariciones." Ibid., 33.

¹⁸² The papal bulls concerning the Catholic Church's adherence to the immacult doctrine were published in Peru on April 29, 1657. Diego de Esquivel y Navía, *Noticias cronológica de Cuzco* [1742] vol. II (Lima: Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, 1980), 101.

artists who presented a more nuanced picture of the miracles of conquest, Padre Castro credited the Virgin Mary with subjugating idolatrous Incas. The lack of ceremonial pomp with which the feast day of the Virgin of the Descent was celebrated in his adopted city, was, the priest explained a grave oversight in both religious and historical terms. He explained:

To see the Churches filled with a multitude of the faithful, adorned with pomp, that exhausts all the magnificence of these Countries, illuminated with the greatest profusion, with ringing and salutes resonating the air on days of inferior significance; and on a day like that of the Descent of the Blessed Mary who favored the afflicted Christians who would open to the course such that her Blessed Son could be venerated here, it is an ingratitude that no one can be seen decorating her Temple and Altars, nor to remember that the other devotions should not be superior to this one.¹⁸³

Years earlier, the Bishop of Cuzco, Manuel Gerónimo de Romaní, addressed King Carlos II in a 1767 letter urging him to petition Pope Clemente XIII to declare May 23 the solemn feast day of the Virgin of the Descent. However, the King denied his request

Castro authored theological apologies in support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1782 and 1784, of which only the latter has survived. Ignacio de Castro, *Disertacion sobre la concepcion de Nra. Sra. por el D.D. Ignacio de Castro, 1782*; and *Segunda disertación en respuesta a Juan Prudencio de Osorio O.P., autor de 'Verdad vindicada y teológicamente defendida,'* Lima 1784, unprinted. Cited in José Ignacio Saranyana and Carmen José Alejos-Grau, eds. *Teología en América Latina, Vol. II/1 Escolástica barroca, Ilustración y preparación de la Independencia (1665-1810)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005), 655-656.

¹⁸³ “Es ingratitude ver otras Iglesias en dias de inferior interes llenas de la multitud de los fieles, adornadas con pompa, que agota toda la magnificencia de estos Países, iluminadas con la mayor profusion, resonando el ayre con repiques y salvas; y en un dia como el de la Descension de María Santísima á favorecer á los Christianos afligidos que le iban á abrir campo para que aquí fuese adorado su Hijo Santísimo, no se vea quien condecere su Templo y sus Aras, ni se acuerde que las demas devociones no han de ser superiores á esta.” *Ibid.*, 36.

citing a lack of authenticity.¹⁸⁴ It is not surprising, thus, that given his civic devotion Castro would rally to the cause in his 1788 account, rescuing the 1536 miracle of Cuzco from historical oblivion.

Conclusion: The Andean Mirror of Colonial Christianity

This chapter has demonstrated how the historical construction of the Cuzco “Conquest” miracles and their pictorial representation provided a generative space of possibility through which colonial subjectivities could be contested, affirmed, and visualized. While early sixteenth-century Spanish accounts emphasized the military prowess of the conquistadors who, in service of the Church and Crown, defeated Manco Inca’s army, seventeenth-century chroniclers attributed the providential intercession of God, the Virgin Mary, and Saint James with neutralizing indigenous warriors to effectively convert “pagan” pre-Hispanic Cuzco into an Inca-Christian site. Similarly, seventeenth and eighteenth-century mestizo and indigenous elites re-framed the saints’ visual apparitions during the seventeenth and eighteenth century to signify their own spiritual privilege by linking themselves to a noble, Inca-Christian lineage. These discursive shifts attest to the symbolic power of the Cuzco miracles within the collective imagination while underscoring the importance of the visual—both imagined and represented—in the (re)making of colonial Christian identities. In the Andes, the Virgin

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous cuzqueño, *La Iglesia no se inclina a patrocinar la descendión de la Virgen S. S. al Cuzco como pretendía el S. D. D. Ignacio de Castro* (Cuzco: Imprenta del Gobierno), 1828; Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco, LXXIV, 1, 9, fol. 3. Cited in Franco Córdova, “La Memoria del Triunfo,” 219.

Mary and Saint James simultaneously blinded and illuminated, thus producing a paradoxical alchemy in which the “vanquished” Indians became the mirror of Christian colonialism-in-the-making.

Chapter 4. Colonizing Virgins: Re-Presenting the Andean Sacred Landscape under Spanish Catholicism

Don't you see that these things do not speak, nor do they see, nor feel, nor in any way do they respond to what you give them, nor understand the honor which you grant them?

*Third Catechism, 1585*¹

They also worship and reverence the high hills and mountains and huge stones. They have names for them and numerous fables about their changes and metamorphoses, saying they were once men who have been changed to stone.

Pablo José de Arriaga, 1621²

Throughout the Andes, indigenous kinship communities revered the natural landscape inhabited by sacred hills, rocks, springs, and rivers known as *huacas* as well as revered originary sites—*pacarinas* or *pacariscas*—from which their lineage hailed descent.³ In his 1553 chronicle of Inca history, the Spanish soldier Pedro de Cieza de León (1518-1554), described how the founders of the Inca lineage had first emerged from

¹ *Tercero catechismo y exposición de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585), fols. 23v-24r.

² The earliest Quechua-Spanish dictionary defines *pacari* or *pacarisca* as “dawn.” Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Lexicon, o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Peru* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernandez de Cordova, 1560), 158. The sixteenth-century Jesuit priest Cristóbal de Albornoz defines *pacariscas* as the principal type of Andean *huacas* venerated by local kinship communities prior to Inca colonization as the generative deities. Pierre Duviols, “Un inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz: La *instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haciendas* [ca. 1583],” *Journal de la société des américanistes* 56, no. 1 (1967): 20.

³ In Quechua *Pakaric* means “el que amanece, el que nace” [to dawn or to be born], *Pakarichic* refers to a creator entity “El que dá principio á alguna cosa” [that which gives origin to something] as well as “diestro inventor” [or a skilled inventor]. Similarly, the noun *Pakariy* means “el principio, el comienzo, la invención, la inclinación” [the origin, beginning, invention, or inclination]. The definition for the Quechua term *huaca* or *huaka* is similarly broad as “idolo, figura de hombre ó animal que traen sobre sí” [an idol or the figure of a man or animal above it]. In other words, *huaca* thus transcends the sacred as a representation or “idol” to include its presentation within geographic features and its material inherence within rocks. Diego González de Holguín, *Arte y diccionario quechua-español*, [1608] (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1901), 256-257, 123.

caves, lagoons, volcanoes and mountains spread across the vast territories of the Inca's empire of Tawantinsuyu, "Four Corners of the Universe."⁴ Decades later, the Spanish official Juan Polo de Ondegardo pointed to specific sacred geographic features near Cuzco ritually invoked as the Incas' ancestral *pacarina* including *Tambotoco*, an "anciently carved window of stone" and a neighboring hill shrine called *Pacariqtambo* [The Inn of the Dawn].⁵ Other chroniclers, by claiming that the first Incas descended from the highland region of the Collao to the valley of Cuzco, inserted Aymara sacred sites such as Lake Titicaca and Tiahuanaco within the Inca's imperial religion and historical memory.⁶ Regardless of divergent traditions as to whether the Incas descended from Cuzco or Lake Titicaca, Andean kinship communities presented ritual offering that included the mummified bodies of their venerated ancestors to sacred geographic sites which mnemonically recalled their primordial origins.⁷

According to the sixteenth-century Spanish royal-cosmographer Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the first Incas—four pairs of male and female siblings—were divinely-

⁴ Pedro de Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú: primera parte [1553]* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1984), 355.

⁵ The original Spanish text reads, "[...] est labrada antiqúisamente vna ventana de cantería arrimada a un cerro que fué antiguo adoratorio suyo." Juan Polo de Ondegardo, "Relación de los fundamentos acerca del notable daño que resulta de no guardar a los Indios sus fueros [1571]" in *Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Perú*, ser. I., vol.3 (Lima: Sanmarti 1916), 49-50. The English translation comes from Brian S. Bauer, "Pacariqtambo and the Mythical Origins of the Inca," *Latin American Antiquity* 2, no. 1 (1991): 18.

⁶ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno [1615]*, Ch. 6- The Chapter of the Incas, fol. 84.

⁷ Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru [1621]* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 23-24.

appointed conquerors created by Viracocha to be “Incas” or Lords over the world.⁸ Led by the eldest Inca brother Manco Capac, the mythical siblings traveled across the Andes searching for the place in which to establish their imperial dominion. During their journey three of the brothers—who were called Ayar—either physically merged with pre-existing hills or caves that became sacred sites or *huacas* or metamorphosed into large boulders or *huanacas* that functioned as ancestral guardians over territories.⁹ In other words, specific topographic features re-membered originary Inca ancestors and ritually preserved, through their material and visual presence, Andean cosmological power. One brother called Ayar Cache, for example, “was so skilled with a sling and so strong that he would demolish a mountain and would form a ravine with each throw of a stone,” that his siblings secretly trapped him inside the ancestral cave of Tambotoco, where, before dying, he transformed his treacherous companion into a crag beside Pacariqtambo.¹⁰ The youngest brother named Ayar Uchu became part of a mountain-oracle called *Huanacauri* when, observing the propitious sign of a *huanacauri* (rainbow) on its summit, he climbed

⁸ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas [1572]* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 60-61.

⁹ The Quechua noun *huanca* refers to a lever or large rock (“La palanca. Piedra larga”). Holguín, *Arte y diccionario quechua-español*, 127

¹⁰ Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, 65-66. *Tambotoco* [*Tampu-ttoco*] is a composite word formed by *tampu* (hispanicized as *tambo*) which means “venta, mezón, hotel” [inn, lodge, hotel] and *ttoco* defined as “la ventana, la alacena” [window or closet]. As such, the proper noun Tambotoco refers to a literal place signifying the “house of windows.” Similarly, *Pacaritambo* [*Pacariq-Tampu*] is a composite noun made of *Pakariy* “amanecer, nacer” [to dawn or to be born], the suffix *-q*, and the aforementioned noun *tambo* such that it signifies the “house of production” or the “house of origins.” Holguín, *Arte y diccionario quechua-español*, 354, 375.

its peak to consult with the *huaca*.¹¹ As was the case of *Pacariqtambo* and *Tambotoco*, the consubstantiated body of the Inca-mountain *Huanacauri* was also ritually venerated as one of the Inca's principle deities.¹²

The Inca's mythical history also testifies to the primacy of stone within Andean understandings of divinity or *camay*, a Quechua signifying “unique essence” or sacred power.¹³ *Camay* inhered within materials—including carved or natural stone—and could de-animated and/or transferred to other persons and things but it did not “exist without a physical instantiation.”¹⁴ The first Incas not only emerged from petrous caves, crags, and outcrops, but also symbolically returned to these *pacarinas* through their posthumous lithification. For example, when he died, the founder of Cuzco Manco Capac “turned into a stone one yard high” which, along with the sacred mummified bodies [*mallquis*] of his

¹¹ For an insightful reading of the Ayar Uchu-*Huanacauri* union as a homoerotic ritual encounter that involved a generative third-gender subjectivity see: Michael J. Horswell, “Toward an Andean Theory of Ritual Sam-Sex Sexuality and Third-Gender Subjectivity,” in *Infamous Desire: Male Homosexuality in Colonial Latin America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 50-54.

¹² The oracular-mountain *Huanacauri* also enunciated his kinship relations to the Inca lineage by calling the Ayars “brother” before transforming him into stone. Similarly, after the Incas descended from *Huanacauri* into the valley of Cuzco, when they arrived near the fertile land of Huaynapata, Manco Capac ordered his brother Ayar Auca to fly over top of a stone boundary marker, and when he was seated there, he likewise “turned into stone and became a territorial boundary marker” or a *huanca* on whose petrified body the Dominicans in Cuzco would later construct their monastery. Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, 66-67, 69.

¹³ For a foundational study of the Quechua concept of *camay*, see: Pierre Duviols, “Camaquen upani: un concept animiste des anciens peruvians,” in Roswith Hartmann and Udo Oberem, eds., *Estudios americanistas: libro jubilar en homenaje Hermann Trimborn con motivo de su septuagesimoquinto aniversario* (St. Augustin: Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, 1978) vol. 1, 132-144

¹⁴ Carolyn Dean, *An Inka Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 303, 306.

Inca successors, was worshipped in the *Coricancha* temple in Cuzco before its 1599 discovery and removal by the Spanish corregidor Juan Polo de Ondegardo.¹⁵

As we saw in the previous chapter, colonial Andeans and mestizos re-deployed the Conquest miracles to symbolically identify themselves with privileged Inca-Christians. This chapter expands our study of religious culture-in-the-making to consider the role of visual hybridity in the dialectical creation of colonial Andean Christianities.¹⁶ Borrowing from the Quechua concept of *camay*—an activating force that was embedded in material geography but capable of metamorphosis and immaterial change—I track the colonial persistence of Andean cosmological power through images of Christian saints which were often framed by Western pictorial traditions. I argue that miraculous images of the Virgin Mary—both imported from Europe or locally-produced by native artists—exhibited *camay* through their ritual veneration and symbolic association with ancestral mountains, volcanoes, and rivers that governed over and protected local Andean kinship communities under Inca and Spanish colonization.

The Inca's Sacred Bodies

Sixteenth-century colonial images produced by indigenous peoples bear witness to how native Andeans inscribed Manco Capac's mythical foundation of Cuzco within a broader sacred narrative that ritually entangled geography, power, and reciprocity. The

¹⁵ Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 75.

¹⁶ On the central role of images to cultural *mestizaje* (mixture/cross-breeding) in colonial Mexico—in terms of an historical process and its hybrid products—see Serge Gruzinski's foundational study, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492-2019)*, (Durham: Duke University Press), 2009.

Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa's illustrated chronicle *General History of Peru*, produced between 1585 and 1616 with the assistance of indigenous artists and scribes, visualizes the mutual constitution of Andean kinship and sovereignty through the Inca's petrified apotheosis. In one watercolor painting, the anonymous indigenous artist-scribe visualizes Manco Capac's conquest of Cuzco as simultaneously enacting and activating cosmological kinship relations with the Andean sacred landscape (Figure 37).

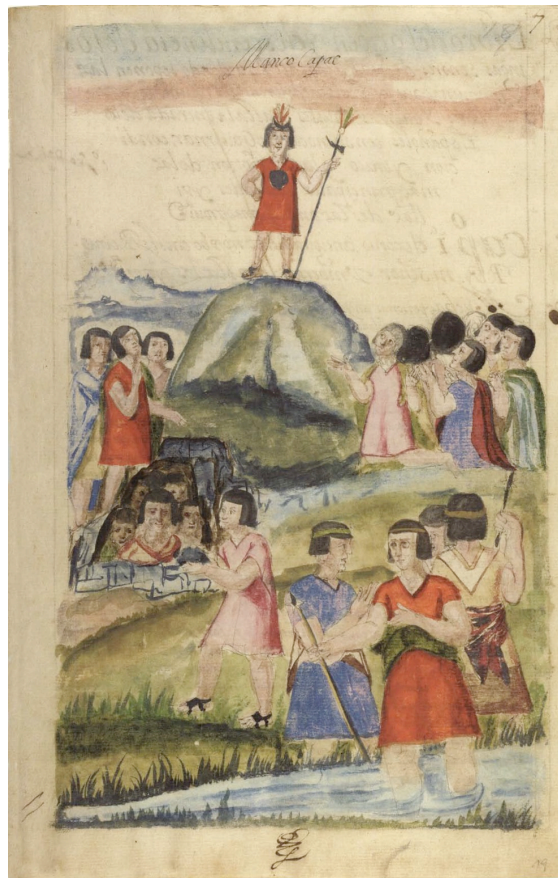


Figure 37: Martín de Murúa, “The Adoration of Manco Capac” or “The Founding of Cuzco” in *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.M.P. 159), Fol. 19r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.

Manco Capac stands on the summit of the sacred *Huanacauri* hill from whose elevated point he can simultaneously prospect the surrounding territory while being seen by several human figures from below who raise their hands in reverential submission. Two vertical bands of blue and red pigment frame the Inca, remembering the *huanacauri* rainbow which signaled Cuzco as a favorable place for settlement and was also symbolically associated with the pan-Andean deity *Illapa* which controlled celestial phenomena.¹⁷ Manco Inca's disproportionate scale—he stands nearly as tall as the mountain *huaca*—and central location reinforces his imperial status as “the son of the Sun” with religious and political jurisdiction over both territories and peoples.¹⁸ Besides his strategic elevation above the lower valley of Cuzco, the Inca's divine kinship is displayed through imperial insignia as he holds a *topayauri sunturpaucar* (royal scepter), wears a *mascaypacha* (royal red-fringe), and exhibits a gold or silver-plated pectoral called *venera* or *canipo*.¹⁹ The red, blue, and green plumes which decorate the Inca's crown and staff not only visually echo the *huanacauri* rainbow but likewise suggests how

¹⁷ On the cosmological significance of the rainbow for the Incas, see: Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 292. For an excellent exploration of the associated significances of the rainbow and the Inca in colonial representations, see: Thomas B.F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Qero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 274-276.

¹⁸ Manco Capac wore a diadem on his head, and “two plates of thin silver” on his chest and back, so that when he appeared on a high hill he radiated brilliance like a “divine thing” so that the Indians who saw him believed his claim to be the son of the Sun. Luis Jerónimo de Oré, *Símbolo católico indiano* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1598), 39v.

¹⁹ For a classic study on the Incas' royal insignia and the ritual ceremonies of political investiture see: José Luis Martínez Cereceda, *Autoridades en los Andes: Los atributos del señor* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial), 1995. For a visual analysis of colonial Inca royal insignia see: Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Bodies of Christ* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 122-159.

the cosmological authority was transmitted through sacred objects.²⁰ For example, Manco Capac claimed ownership of “a falcon-like bird called *inti*, which everyone venerated and feared as a sacred thing.” While a symbolic representation of the Inca’s principal Sun deity *Inti*, the bird-*inti* was also the material embodiment of Manco Capac’s cosmological brother or *guaoiqui* which, like the Inca’s mummy or *mallqui*, received the same veneration as the living Inca.²¹ Besides protecting the bird-*inti* inside “a small, boxlike straw case,” Manco Capac also bequeathed his sacred surrogate or *guaoiqui* to his son Sinchi Roca to preserve its ritual veneration among his imperial lineage.²²

The artist’s figuration of gold, silver, and colorful plumes, like stones, also carry symbolic meaning. Since precious metals including gold “the sweat of the sun” and silver “the tears of the moon” as well as tropical feathers were all associated with Andean cosmological power, their presence underscores how the Inca’s sacred sovereignty transcended the spheres of *Hanan Pacha* (celestial), *Kay Pacha* (terrestrial), and *Uku Pacha* (subterranean) that include time and space.²³ On the one hand, the Inca’s strategic location beneath the *huanacauri* rainbow and on top of the *Huanacauri* hill expresses his

²⁰ For a detailed historical examination of the relationship between Andean cosmology and the Incas’ divine kinship see: Susan Ramirez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), especially Chapters 3 and 4.

²¹ On the ritual veneration of the Inca *guaoiqui* and *mallqui* see: José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), Book 5, Ch. 6, p. 265-266.

²² Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, 63.

²³ The reciprocal relationship between temporality and spatiality in the Andes is likewise evidenced by the Quechua term “pacha” which means both time and space. In his 1608 dictionary, Holguin defines the noun “Pacha” as “tiempo, lugar, mundo, suelo” [time, place, world, and land]. *Arte y diccionario quechua-español*, 254.

cosmological authority within the heavenly and terrestrial spheres of *Hanan Pacha* and *Kay Pacha*. On the other, his power within the subterranean realm of *Uku Pacha* is reflected by the figuration of a cluster of disembodied heads that metonymically stand-in for the eight siblings who first emerged from the ancestral cave of *Tambotoco*.

In addition to representing the Inca's tripartite universe, the pictorial composition is also framed by Andean notions of complementary space anchored on the city of Cuzco, the symbolic center of the cosmos and the capital of the Inca Empire. For example, the composition narrates a vertical movement from the bottom register of *Hurin* (lower/right) by figuring several men walking across a lowland river or ravine move towards the upper/left space of *Hanan*, where the valley of Cuzco and the *Huanacauri* hill is located. By traveling vertically from the peripheral coast to the central highlands, the mythical Incas' performed their imperial conquest of the Andean sacred geography, one that adopted pre-existing and established new complementary kinship relations. As such, by standing on top of the *Huanacauri* hill which contains the sacred residue of his petrified brother (and was already an oracular-*huaca*), the Inca proclaims himself the triumphant embodiment of a sacred ancestral past whose cosmological power is universal, transcending the *pachas* (time and space).²⁴ Since Manco Capac territorial and political possession over sacred Cuzco was mutually-constituted by the sacred materiality of lithic

²⁴ This analysis of the image of Manco Capac as a visual narrative is indebted to the following essay, Thomas B.F. Cummins, "The Images in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru: An Art Historical Study*," in *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of the Manuscript* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 167.

bodies, Even in the sovereign's absence, the *Huanacauri* hill, which contained the sacred materiality of Inca bodies, visually “evoked a metaphysical time/space in which past acts of possession persisted into the present and future.”²⁵ In other words, the Incas' cosmological authority was materially inscribed within geographic features—ancestral *huacas*—that continued to intercede on behalf of living kinship communities throughout the Andes.²⁶

Though produced under the supervising gaze of the Mercedarian priest, the anonymous artist-scribe's image of Manco Inca's conquest of Cuzco expresses how Andean cosmological power and reciprocal kinship relations were both ritually performed and materially embodied in the sacred landscape. For example, though the Incas established a cosmic order that privileged Cuzco—the sacred capital of the Inca Empire and the symbolic center of the Andean universe—they also reinforced pan-Andean understanding of ancestral kinship ties with geographic *huacas* through territorial conquest. By conquering nearby populations and ordering them to “adore and give

²⁵ Carolyn Dean, “Men Who Would be Rocks: The Inka Wank'a,” in Tamara L. Bray, ed. *The Archeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes* (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2015), 226.

²⁶ On the cosmological ideology which underscored Andean concepts of sovereignty see: Susan Ramirez, *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2005.

sacrifices to the *pacarinas*, and the *huacas* of the hills and caves and crags,” the mythical Inca Manco Capac enacted his sacred imperial power.²⁷

When the early fifteenth-century Incas expanded their empire across the southern-central Andean highlands of Collasuyu and Chinchaysuyu populated by Aymara and Quechua-speaking ethnic groups, they not only “seized the great spoils and riches of silver that those natives extracted from the mines of Porco,” outside of Potosí but also transferred colonized *huacas* to their imperial seat in Cuzco. Principal *huacas* from colonized Andean territories were not only appropriated as part of the Inca’s imperial pantheon but also promoted locally as the Inca’s appointed ritual specialists to oversee their cults and constructed their royal road along mountain shrines to facilitate their access.²⁸ Under the Inca colonizers Andean kinship communities thus continued to invoke their local mountain deities as *Apus* [Lords] and to offer them ritual sacrifices before harvesting the land.

Though not all mountains were considered *huacas*, Andeans had long venerated the conjoined *Cerro Rico* and *Huayna Potosí* mountains with their rich silver deposits.²⁹ Long before the Spaniards’ 1545 “discovery” of the rich silver mines of Potosí, the Incas

²⁷ “Y ancí mandó el Ynga que adorasen y sacrificasen a sus pacaricos [lugar de origen] y uacas de los serros y cuevas, peñas.” Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno* [1615], fol. 84.

²⁸ Sarmiento de Gambia, *History of the Incas*, 141.

²⁹ On pre-Hispanic populations’ knowledge of the *Cerro Rico* and Andean colonial resistance to its possession by Spanish conquistador-encomendero Gonzalo Pizarro during the first half of the sixteenth-century, see: Tristan Platt and Pablo Quisbert, “Tras las huellas del silencio: los Incas, Potosí y el Virrey Toledo,” in *Mina y metalurgia en los Andes del sur desde la época prehispánica hasta el siglo XVIII* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2008), 231-278.

recognized their wealth as cosmological power. According to one Spanish resident's 1585 account, the Incas refrained from exploiting the Potosí mountains because "the Indians were inclined to some vain observance and ceremony (adoring noteworthy mountains and singular rocks, and dedicating them to their *huacas* or devotions—as the place where they made their sacrifices and devil spoke to them—such that in their blindness they were the most deceived people."³⁰ The Jesuit priest José de Arriaga highlighted the missionary challenge of the sacred mountains in a 1599 letter to the Provincial of his Order in Rome, writing: "the Indians from time immemorial" had ritually venerated by "visiting them to make their offerings and sacrifices, [and] seeking advice from the devil" and thus they "fall into much idolatry."³¹ Evidently, in the Arriaga's mind, Andean idolatry was rooted in immobile, animated mountains that continued to ritually communicate with native communities. Years later, the Jeronymite friar Diego de Ocaña (1565-1608) specifically linked the native Andeans' devotion to the

³⁰. The original Spanish reads: "Más había de doce años que los españoles poseían este reino y no tenían noticia de la riqueza de este cerro, ...y en su descubrimiento (de Potosí) no se halló rastro que los antiguos incas o reyes se hubiesen aprovechado de sus minas, ni se halló señal de labor (como en Porco, donde la habían tenido), ora por alguna vana observancia y ceremonia a que eran inclinados estos indios (adorando los montes señalados y piedras singulares, la ciega y más engañada gente, dedicándolos a sus *huacas* o adoraciones, que era el lugar donde el demonio los hablaba y hacían sus sacrificios." Luis Capoche, *Relación General del Asiento y Villa Imperial de Potosí y de las Cosas más Importantes a su Gobierno* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1959 [1585]), 77

³¹ Cited in English translation in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 260. [...] en el camino real están dos cerros a que los indios desde tiempos inmemoriales han tenido extraña devoción acudiendo allí a hacer sus ofrendas y sacrificios y consultando al demonio en sus dudas y recibiendo de él respuestas." José de Arriaga letter to Claudio Aquaviva, the General Provincial of the Jesuit Order. Lima, April 29, 1599. Cited in Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 4th ed., (La Paz: Amegraf Ltda., 2008), 19.

Potosí mountain to the fifteenth-century Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui (1438-1471) who had “offered and consecrated it to the Sun...[and] as a thing that belonged to the gods, he could not touch its wealth.”³² The Spaniards’ colonization of Potosí, in other words, violently inverted the Andean ritual kinship relations with the sacred landscape that were maintained under the Inca Empire. In his late sixteenth-century watercolor, the indigenous artist-chronicler Guaman Poma powerfully narrates the Spanish exploitation of the mines of Potosí as a visual synecdoche for the colonial destructuring of Andean society (Figure 38).



³² “[...] porque le tenía ofrecido y consagrado al sol, y como cosa de los dioses no queda tocar en tanta riqueza.” Diego de Ocaña and Arturo Alvarez, *Fray Diego de Ocaña (1599-1605); Un Viaje fascinante por la América Hispana del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Studium, 1969), 184.

Figure 38: Att. Guaman Poma de Ayala, “The hill and mines of Potosí with the Inca supporting the Herculean columns of the Spanish kingdoms of Castile and León.” in Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 141v. Private Collection of Sean Galvin, Dublin, Ireland.³³

The Inca’s central location inside the Herculean pillars symbolizing the Kingdoms of Castile and León appears to signal his colonial privilege as a cultural mediator between the Spanish Crown and native Andeans. The inscription of Carlos V’s Latin motto—*Plus Ultra* [Further Beyond] *Ego fulcio columnas eius* [I hold its columns upright]—above the Inca’s head troubles his ostensible power, textually eliciting a secondary reading of Guaman Poma’s image.³⁴ For example, the Inca grasps the pillars, thus serving as their physical support. Moreover, the Inca’s body, as the instrument that effectively “hold its columns upright,” is also affixed to the rocky terrain upon which they are erected. Instead of a bridge or gateway into the mineral wealth of the “Indies,” here the Inca sovereign metonymically stands-in for the Spaniards’ spiritual and economic dispossession of the colonial Andes.

Like the previous illustration of the Inca Manco Capac’s conquest of Cuzco (Figure 37), this image symbolically invokes petrified apotheosis while recasting it to

³³ Image Source: Thomas B. F. Cummins, et al., *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 128, Figure 11.

³⁴ The Latin phrase *Plus Ultra* is an adaptation of the Holy Roman Emperor of Spain Carlos V’s 1516 motto *Non plus ultra* which was inscribed on the Pillars of Hercules at the Strait of Gibraltar that marked the edges of the known world while serving as a gateway into the Spanish conquest of North Africa and the Indies. Earl Rosenthal, “Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 206. The Spanish Captain Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa explains in his 1572 chronicle, that the epigraph on the Herculean pillars was redacted to remove the negation “non” and replaced by “plus” to imply the existence of further lands to be colonized following Columbus’ the discovery of the Indies. Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, 38-39.

reflect colonial power relations.³⁵ Rather than a divine conqueror of the mountain standing on top of its summit, the Inca is consubstantial with the sacred hill and silver mines of Potosí/*Cerro Rico*. The two indigenous persons following the llama walking towards the dark, cross-etching of an opened mine in the center of the mountain can thus be read as symbolically trampling on the ruptured belly of the sovereign Inca himself. By symbolically linking the mining of silver with the extraction of human flesh, specifically, the removal of the Inca's bowels, the illustration bears witness to how Spanish colonialism exploited Andean kinship relations with humans and geographic features. Ultimately, Guaman Poma represents the mining of Potosí as a violent penetration of the sacred human-geographic body, such that the Inca sovereign's passive subjugation stands-in for the colonial transformations in Andean society and religion.

Contrasting with Europeans' praise of Potosí because its wealth "seemed almost a fable," in his watercolor image Guaman Poma visually laments the Spaniards' violent destruction of Andean society as connected to the exploitation of the Inca-mountain's silver mines.³⁶ The Inca sovereign and the mountain Potosí can be conceptualized as the double-sided silver coin whose material composition and visual content was doubly

³⁵ Art historian Thomas Cummins has argued recently that the format of the illustrations from Guaman Poma's 1615 chronicle was shaped by his artistic apprenticeship under the Mercedarian friar Martin de Murúa. Cummins, "The Images in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*," 147.

³⁶ "[...] ser tenido por cosa de fábula." Nicolás del Benino, "Relación muy particular del cerro y minas de Potosí y de su calidad y labores, por Nicolas del Benino, dirigido a don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey del Perú, en 1573," in *Relaciones geograficas de Indias*, vol. 1, ed. Marcos Jimenez de Espada (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1965), 366. Cited in Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 1.

marked by the Spanish Crown's imperial enterprise. Just as Andean human and geographic space were transacted through the Spanish conquest, so too did the exploited silver-mine of Potosí—like the colonized body of the Inca—form part of a broader global market. In his 1615 chronicle, Guaman Poma reminds us that the Spaniards' extraction of Potosí's silver—dependent upon the exploitation of native labor—both created and maintained the Spanish Catholic political and religious.

Potosí. By the said mine Castile exists, Rome is Rome, the pope is the pope and the King is the monarch of the world. Holy mother church is defended, and our holy faith guarded by the four kings of the Indies and the Inca emperor. Now the power is with the pope of Rome and our Lord King don Philip the third.³⁷

In other words, he proclaims that the Church and the Crown—both in Europe and in the Americas—were equally dependent upon the wealth contained in the *cerro rico* [rich hill] of Potosí extracted by indigenous laborers. The indigenous nobleman's textual account thus reinforces his visual narration of the how Spanish colonialism depended upon the pillaging of Andean bodies, including the animated sacred landscape. Whereas Guaman Poma advanced his critique of the Spanish colonial enterprise by asserting his privileged Christian identity, Jesuit missionaries reaffirmed their administrative control over indigenous populations by underscoring the persistence of “idolatry” expressed through Andeans' ritual veneration of their ancestral *huacas*. In the process of

³⁷ The original Spanish reads: “LA VILLA RICA ENPEREal de Potocchi. Por la dicha mina es Castilla, Roma es Roma, el papa es papa y el rrey es monarca del mundo¹. Y la santa madre yglecia es defendida y nuestra santa fe guardada por los quatro rreys de las Yndias y por el enperador *Ynga*. Agora lo podera el papa de Roma y nuestro señor rrey don Phelipe el terzero.” Ibid. Fol. 1057.

indoctrinating Andean neophytes, however, missionary discourse became entangled with Andean cosmological power in ways that powerfully shaped the religious development of Christianity in the Andes and its visual manifestations.

During a Provincial Synod designed to standardize the catechism of indigenous populations, ecclesiastical clergy throughout Peru congregated in the viceregal capital of Lima between 1582 and 1583. Among the many publications resulting from the Lima Council was the 1585 *Third Catechism and Exposition of Christian Doctrine through Sermons* published in Lima.³⁸ As it was designed to aid parish priests' in their pastoral endeavors, the catechism included a variety of textual models to be used when administering the Catholic sacraments. For example, to confess indigenous penitents, missionaries were instructed to reinforce the biblical First Commandment against idolatry through the following series of questions: "Have you adored *huacas*, *villcas*,³⁹ hills, rivers, the sun, and other things? Have you offered them clothing, coca leaves, the *cuy* (guinea pig), or other things? And what are those things, and how have you offered them?"⁴⁰ During the following act of contrition, priests should verbally reprimand the native penitent but teaching them firstly, the foolishness of worshipping "things that do

³⁸ *Tercero catecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo), 1585.

³⁹ *Villcas* were oracular *huacas* that could be rivers as well as mountains.

⁴⁰ The Spanish text reads "1-Has adorado huacas, villcas, cerros, rios, al sol, o otras cosas? 2- Has les offrescido ropa, coca, cuy, o otras cosas? Y que son essas cosas, y como las offressiste?" *Tercero catecismo y exposicion de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1585) Fol. 6v.

not understand the honor which you grant them” and secondly, that their “idolatrous” veneration of the *huacas* was sinful, constituting “an act of treason against God.”⁴¹

The pastoral process of evangelizing Andean populations was thus a two-fold endeavor involving both indigenous parishioners’ disavowal of their “false” veneration of the landscape such as hills, rivers, and stones and their embrace of Catholic images representing the “true” God, the Virgin Mary, and saints. As in the confessional, Catholic missionaries attempted to further indigenous Christian indoctrination in the pulpit where they communicated abstract religious concepts through metaphors, similes, and symbols. To further reinforce indigenous memorization of Catholic doctrine, Jesuit missionaries also distributed rosaries and images as prizes to those Indians who could properly recite the catechism and mysteries of the faith. Religious images were thus integral to pastoral activity as devotional tools and as the material-visual vehicles supports of Christian doctrine.⁴²

⁴¹ “Quiero que sepas quan enojado esta Dios contra ti por essas maldades que has hecho de adorar las guacas, o al Sol, &c...Tu no ves que tu eres homber y hablas y sientes, y nada de esso habla ni siente, mas que las piedras de la calle, que las pisas y no responden?...No adores mas guacas que es grandissimo traycion contra Dios.” Ibid., 23v-24r.

⁴² On the importance of Christian visuality within the missionary process, see: Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “El arte y los sermones,” in *El barroco peruano* (Lima: Banco del Crédito del Perú, 2002), 219-313; Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “Descubriendo los poderes de la palabra: funciones de la prédica en la evangelización del Perú, siglos XVI–XVII,” in Gabriela Ramos, ed. *La venida del reino. Religión, evangelización y cultura en América, siglos XVI–XX* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las Casas,” 1994), 75–101; and Sabine MacCormack, “Art in a Missionary Context: Images for Europe and the Andes in the Church of Andahuaylillas near Cuzco,” in *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 103-126.

The dialectical relationship between idol and image challenged the missionary enterprise as indigenous Christians often conflated the signifier (the image of saint) with its signified (the saint). For example, in a 1600 letter concerning the Jesuit mission in Cuzco, one priest from explained that Indians were specifically taught “how to venerate images...not to worship them as they do their *huacas*, nor that the Christians think they contain in themselves any virtue or divinity, but by *looking* at what they represent, they adore Jesus Christ on the cross, etc.”⁴³

Despite the coercive nature of Spanish colonization, native peoples not only adopted Christian images but also transformed the ritual meanings of Catholic saints to fit with traditional Andean frameworks of cosmological power. For example, Catholic images that were integral to Church liturgy and public ritual performances were also embraced by colonized peoples in ways that suggested their Andean re-signification. Under Spanish Catholicism, Andeans gifted saints’ images with textiles/jewels/candles with the expectation of receiving health and prosperity in return, thus establishing a reciprocal relationship with Christian deities that paralleled pre-Hispanic ritual exchanges. Moreover, native peoples clothed the sculpted bodies of Christian saints in ways that paralleled their ceremonial dressing of geographic and anthropomorphic

⁴³ “Un fruto de los principales que tuvo esta misión fue el enseñar a los indios la adoración de las imágenes, diziéndoles que no se adoran como los indios sus huacas, ni piensan los christianos que en ellas mismas ay virtud y divinidad, mas mirando lo que representan, adoran a Jesuchristo en la cruz, etc.” “El P. Rodrigo de Cabredo, Prov. Al P. Claudio Aquaviva, Lima 20 de Abril 1600,” in Antonio de Egaña ed., *Monumenta peruana (1600-1602), Vol. VII* (Rome: Inst. Historicum Soc. Iesu, 1981), 75.

Andean *huacas*. Indigenous populations, the Jesuit Arriaga lamented, often persisted in their “idolatry” because of a cognitive misconception; they could not understand Christianity’s universal claim to religious truth. He explained that even when Andeans’ conceded “that the God of the Spaniards is a good God” they believed “that this teaching [of the Spanish priests] is meaningful for the Viracochas and Spaniards only, whereas the *huacas* and *mallquis* are intended for the Indians, together with their festivals and everything else that their ancestors, old men, and sorcerers have taught them.”⁴⁴

Moreover, missionaries’ resignification of Andean cosmological symbols in sermons and visual images also produced slippages in meaning. The ambiguous significances of Christian imagery in the colonial Andes is suggested by a double-sided copper plate attributed to the Augustinian friar-painter Francisco Bejarano (Figure 39).⁴⁵ The early seventeenth-century image below may represent the Inca Tupac Amaru confessing before the Jesuit priest Alonso Barzara before his public execution in 1572.⁴⁶ The Inca’s noble status is signaled through his appearance as an *orejón* with distended ears who wears an *uncu* (cloak) embroidered with *tocapu*, geometric insignia that were

⁴⁴ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru [1621]*, 72.

⁴⁵ On the artistic production of Francisco Bejarano and the diffusion of printed images produced in Lima see the following publications by Ricardo Estabridis Cárdenas, “Francisco Bejarano: Pintor y Grabador Limeño,” *Arte y Arqueología* 8-9 (La Paz: Facultad de Humanidades. Universidad Mayor de San Andrés), 1982-1983; “El grabado colonial en Lima,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 41 (1984): 253-289; and the author’s book *El grabado en Lima Virreinal: Documento histórico y artístico (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Lima: UNSM Fondo Editorial), 2002.

⁴⁶ On the entangled political relationship between this painting’s symbolic iconography, Jesuit missionary discourse, and the Tupac Amaru’s 1572 execution in Cuzco see: Ramón Mujca Pinilla, *La imagen transgredida: Ensayos de iconografía peruana y sus políticas de representación simbólica* (Lima: Fondo Editoria del Congreso del Perú, 2016), 72-79.

limited to members of the Inca royalty. the Andean confessant is subordinated to the Jesuit confessor, whose mediating access to the heavenly sphere is suggested by the figuration of a ladder above his birreta. However, his Inca royal insignia and ritual coronation by an angel invokes Andean ideas of divine kinship. Specifically, the celestial garland symbolically invokes the *mascaiypacha* (royal fringe) placed on the Inca during his ceremonial investiture. Rather than a capitulation, the Inca's deployment of Catholic ritual performs his relative prestige within the Spanish Christian order.



Figure 39: Attributed to Francisco Bejarano. “The Catechism of Tupac Amaru I,” ca. 1613-1620. Copper Engraving, Barbosa Stern Art Collection, Lima, Peru.⁴⁷

The Inca’s confession is doubly symbolized by his literal expulsion of sin as figured by a snake emerging from his mouth and toads, lizards, spiders representing

⁴⁷ Image Source: Phoenix Art Museum, *Copper as Canvas: Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575-1775* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 253. Alternative title: “A Jesuit Priest confessing an Inca noble.”

already confessed sins that crawl on the ground beneath his feet.⁴⁸ The painting thus illustrates a published sermon from Lima's 1585 *Third Catechism*, admonished Andeans to regularly confess, thereby exorcising from their souls the amphibians that poisoned them by stating: "You know that for as many sins as you confess, you vomit up demons and ugly toads, and if you keep any sins quiet, all of the toads come right back to you."⁴⁹ However, though the priest's exorcism of snakes, toads, and lizards were intended as negative signifiers, in the Andes these creatures were more multivalent. The Augustinian friar Bartolome Álvarez listed several animals linked to sixteenth-century Andean idolatry including as "lizards big and small, snakes big and small, [and] butterflies" and noted these creatures were both adored as well as feared as they were associated with water, fertility, and *Pachamama* [Mother Earth] but also considered to be omens.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ For an exploration of how sixteenth-century Catholic missionaries, in their catechism of indigenous neophytes in the Andes, created symbolic anchors to harness the abstract idea of sin by declaring that confession served to literally expell diabolic animals from the sinner's body see: Juan Carlos Estensoro, "El simio de Dios: los indígenas y la iglesia frente a la evangelización del Perú, siglos XVI-XVII," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines*, vol. 30, no. 3 (2001): 455-474. For an in-depth exploration of how the Catholic Church deployed catechical tools in the Andes to consolidate the idea of sin and the necessity of a priest-confessor, see: Regina Harrison, *Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru: Spanish-Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560- 1650*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 50-83.

⁴⁹ "Mira no te engañe el diablo, que anda por volver a tu anima, y se pesa que le echas della. Sabe que quantos peccados dizes, tantos demonios y sapos feos vomitas, y si callas alguno, todos se bueluen luego a ti." *Tercer Catechismo*, Fol. 68v, Sermon XII, Fols. 66v-70v.

⁵⁰ Bartolomé Álvarez, *De las costumbres y conversión de los indios del Perú: Memorial al Felipe II* [1588], ed. Maria del Carmen, Martín Rubio et al. (Madrid: Ediciones Polifermo, 1998), 80-81. Cited in Thomas B.F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 153.

Despite their polyvalent meanings, colonial Andeans invoked these creatures symbolic power by weaving them into textiles and painting them on ceremonial drinking vessels.⁵¹

In the end, the copper print visualizes the way in which Christian symbolism communicated varied epistemological frameworks depending on the viewer's cultural perspectives. While the intended colonial recipients of Catholic doctrine and religious imagery, indigenous populations were more than confessional subjects. At the same time as Catholic missionaries resignified Andean cosmological symbols, native peoples also invested new meanings to Christian symbols by recasting colonial saints into traditional Andean displays of power and status. During public festivities honoring the beatification of the Saint Ignatius de Loyola held in Cuzco in 1610, indigenous elites from the Jesuit confraternity of the *Niño Jesús* [Christ Child] processed a statue of their patron saint dressed as an Inca King.⁵² Notwithstanding the absence of specific details on the clothing worn by the Christ Child-Inca, the indigenous confraternity's 1610 statue would have certainly been outfitted with the *mascaypacha* or royal-red fringe crown that signified the Christ Child's status as an Inca sovereign and likely sported a solar pectoral—a reference to Inti, the Sun and principal Inca deity—on his chest. Whereas the dressed statue of the

⁵¹ During the 1550s, snakes were particularly associated with indigenous idolatry given their omnipresence in ritual contexts including homes and churches. Augustinians, *Relación de la religión y ritos del Perú hecha por los padres agustinos* [1560] (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1992), 39. Cited in *Ibid.*

⁵² The indigenous confraternity of the *Niño Jesús* was located inside the Jesuit's Church and College which was constructed on-top of a symbolic pre-Hispanic site: the palace of the Inca Huayna Capac known as the *Amarukancha* or "the serpent's enclosure." Mateos, F., S. J., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú [1600]* Vol. I (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas/ Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1944), 40.

Christ carried during the Jesuit procession in Cuzco likely wore an *uncu* (tunic) decorated with *tocapu*—geometric motifs restricted to the Inca nobility—a late colonial painting represents the Christ as both Inca King and Catholic priest (Figure 40).⁵³



Figure 40: Anonymous Cuzco School. “The Dressed-Statue of the Inca-Christ.” Oil painting. Late 17th-early 18th century. Private Collection of Mónica Taurel de Menacho, Lima, Peru.⁵⁴

⁵³ Anonymous, *Relación de las fiestas que en la ciudad del Cuzco se hicieron por la beatificación del bienaventurado padre Ignacio de Loyola* (Lima: Imprenta Francisco del Canto, 1610), fol. 4r. “Entro el Miercoles la parochial del Hospital de los naturales con grande estruendo de danzas y musica, e haciendo un regozijo que se usava en tiempo del Inga Huaynacapac, mudando a lo divino en loor del Sancto, esta procesion recibio la cofradía de Jesus, que esta en la Compañía, sacando su niño Jesus en habito de Inga, ricamente aderezado, y con muchas luzes.”

⁵⁴ Image Source: Ramón Mujica Pinilla, “El Niño Jesús y los Jesuitas en el Cusco virreinal,” in *Perú: Indígena y virreinal* (Madrid: SEACEX, 2005), 102. Reproduced in Mujica Pinilla, *La imagen transgredida*, 60.

In this anonymous painting, the Christ statue's luxurious clothing, symbolic attributes, and physical gestures identify him as universal God-Inca-Priest. While the Inca-Christ wears a richly-embroidered golden cloak over a sacramental tunic that includes a broad white collar and lace edges and he wears traditional Andean sandals—*usutas*—ornamented with feline masks. Instead of the Inca's royal golden scepter, he signifies his universal political supremacy by carrying a globe crowned with a cross. Seventeenth-century re-presentations of the Christian God as an Inca King thus visually articulated Andean concepts of political-religious power rooted in divine kinship.

The dressed-statue painting of the Inca-Christ testifies to how colonized populations not only interpreted missionary images through Andean cosmological frameworks but also visually adapted European Catholic images to fit their own cultural understandings of religion and power. Besides dressing their own sculptures of Christian saints, indigenous populations actively engaged in the formation of colonial religion by participating in church functions, becoming members of segregated Catholic confraternities, and venerating and crafting miracle-working images of the Virgin Mary. As we will see, symbolic convergences between Andean and European religions also shaped the hybrid ritual and visual manifestations of colonial Andean Christianities.⁵⁵

Manufacturing Andean Virgins: From Copacabana to Potosí

⁵⁵ My use of the Andean Christianities borrows Kenneth Mills, "The Naturalization of Andean Christianities," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity Vol. 6 Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 504-535.

The creation, consolidation, and diffusion of widespread devotion to the sixteenth-century Virgin of Copacabana testifies to indigenous agency in the visual production of early-colonial Andean Christianities. During the sixteenth-century, the highland community of Copacabana was divided into two moieties occupied by ethnically-distinct population that reflected Spanish colonial maintenance of Andean social and spatial organization. On the one hand the Hanansaya were descended from pre-Hispanic Incas that colonized the region during from the fifteenth-century. The Hurinsaya, on the other, were linked to the region's originary inhabitants. After years of bad harvests and droughts, longstanding rivalries came to a head when the both moieties gathered in the Church of Copacabana to elect a patron saint for their native confraternity. Whereas indigenous representatives from Hurinsaya selected Saint Sebastian—considered to be a celestial intercessor against famines and disease—as their confraternity's patron, those from Hanansaya preferred the Virgin of the Candelaria (Candlemas), who was already associated with their privileged Inca counterparts in Cuzco.

Despite this political stalemate, a descendent of Inca nobility named Francisco Tito Yupanqui from the Hanansaya moiety was determined to win over the Hurinsaya's devotion by producing an image of the Virgin. With the assistance from his brother, Tito Yupanqui sculpted a clay image of the Virgin and brought it to the Church to be placed on the altar. Though it remained displayed there for over a year, when the new curate

Bachiller Antonio Montoro took over Copacabana's administration, he berated the image's lack of artistry and thus placed it in the sacristy where it was hidden from view. Dismayed by the rejection of his image of the Virgin, Tito Yupanqui enlisted the help of two kinsmen—the governor of Hanansaya Alonso Viracocha Inga and his brother Don Pablo—so that he could travel to Potosí and improve his artistry.

After several failed attempts to produce a better image under the apprenticeship of Diego Ortiz, a master image-maker in Potosí, Tito Yupanqui was finally satisfied with his sculpted Virgin. Hoping to obtain licenses as a painter/sculptor and to establish a confraternity, he presented the Bishop of Chuquisaca with a painting of the Virgin. However, the Bishop rejected indigenous nobleman's petition to make religious images and threatened him with punishment if he persisted in painting anything but secular subjects such as "a monkey with its long tail." Like the local priest of Copacabana, the Spaniards in the Bishop's company also ridiculed Tito Yupanqui's sculpture, saying that the Virgin "looked like a man with a beard or what appeared to be whiskers." Further vilifying his artistic pretense, the men exclaimed that "native Andeans cannot paint images of the Virgin, nor make statues."⁵⁶ In the wake of the Spanish elites' hostility words his Virgin, Notwithstanding Europeans' vehement opposition of his Virgin, Tito

⁵⁶ Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia del célebre santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* [1621] (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1988), Book 2, Ch. 7, 234-238. Cited in English translation in Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, eds., *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (Lanham: SR Books, 2004), 171.

Yupanqui enlist the help of a Spanish gilder from the Franciscan Convent in La Paz so that he could sell his sculpture before returning to Copacabana (Figure 41).



Figure 41: Francisco Tito Yupanqui, *Our Lady of Copacabana*, ca. 1582. Polychromed and gilded maguay. Basilica of Our Lady of Copacabana, Copacabana, Bolivia.⁵⁷

After one friar witnessed the Virgin emit blinding rays of light from the darkness of his cell, however, locals in La Paz and the formerly obstinate priest of Copacabana embraced the Andean nobleman's sculpture as a miracle-working effigy. Moreover, with

⁵⁷ Image Source: Marjorie Trusted, *The Arts of Spain, Iberia, and Latin America, 1450-1700* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 186. Photographed by Daniel Giannoni.

a license from bishop of La Plata to establish the Virgin's confraternity, and escorted by the Spanish *corregidor* Jerónimo Marañón, Tito Yupanqui brought his sculpture back to his hometown. After a lavish procession, which included both Andean and Spanish governing elites, on February 2, 1583, the indigenous sculpture was solemnly installed in an altar-niche in the parish church, and shortly thereafter, the confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of Copacabana was established. Though administrated by indigenous parishioners, the confraternity's membership also included local Spanish ecclesiastical and civic authorities such as the priest and *corregidor*.⁵⁸

The formal appearance of the Virgin of Copacabana and historical documentation evidences how indigenous artists adopted Western pictorial traditions to produce hybrid religious imagery.⁵⁹ Though appearing to be a traditional European Candelaria Virgin, the Virgin of Copacabana's was not only visually associated with local indigenous production but also with the ritual setting of Copacabana, a sacred Andean pilgrimage center prior, during, and after its fifteenth-century Inca colonization. The growing popularity of the Tito Yupanqui's miracle-working image further consecrated Andean geographic such that Augustinian friars were sent to Copacabana in 1588 to administer

⁵⁸ By 1584, the Spanish *corregidor* of the city of La Paz claimed that Tito Yupanqui's sculpture of the Virgin had miraculously healed a paralyzed indigenous boy such that his mother, out of gratitude, offered him to the service of the Virgin of Copacabana. Diego Cabeza de Vaca, "Description y Relación de la Ciudad de La Paz [1586]," in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Descripción geográfica de las Indias*, Tomo II, (Madrid: Atlas, 1881), 80.

⁵⁹ Specifically, Tito Yupanqui modeled his sculpture after an image of the Virgin of the Rosary housed in the Dominican Convent in Potosí.

the Virgin's shrine. By the end of the sixteenth-century, the popular Virgin of Copacabana was not only venerated across Peru but also in Madrid and Rome. In a 1598 publication, the Franciscan friar Luis Gerónimo de Oré highlighted the iconic power of Tito Yupanqui's Virgin to transcend geographic and cultural divides by declaring that even though the Virgin of Copacabana expressed preferential favor towards indigenous populations, her images were likewise venerated "in all the towns and cities of this kingdom and in all these places she has performed many miracles."⁶⁰ The Virgin of Copacabana's devotional visibility across the Iberian Atlantic World thus testifies to powerful hybrid process of crafting colonial Andean Christianity. Though less famous, other Virgins' images were also shaped by indigenous ritual understandings of the cosmological landscape. For example, another sixteenth-century Candelaria Virgin of European manufacture was embraced by local indigenous populations from Cayma, a rural parish on the outskirts of Arequipa.

According to popular legend, around 1540 the Emperor of Spain Carlos V gifted three devotional statues—an image of the Crucified Christ, the Immaculate Virgen, and the Candelaria Virgen—to decorate the newly-constructed Cathedral in Cuzco.⁶¹ After the statues were disembarked in the Pacific port of Callao, indigenous muleteers transported them on-foot from coastal Lima to the highland city of Cuzco, an arduous

⁶⁰ "En todos los pueblos y ciudades deste reino hay imagen de esta vocación, y en todas partes ha hecho muchos milagros." Oré, *Symbolo Catholico Indiano* (Lima: Antonio Ricardo, 1598), 33.

⁶¹ Vargas Ugarte, *História del culto de Maria en Iberoamérica*, 565-570.

voyage that lasted several months.⁶² Along the way, the men stopped to rest for a night in the indigenous settlement of Lari-Lari just outside of the capital city of Arequipa.⁶³ At daybreak, when they prepared to recommence the journey by strapping the three boxes containing the statues atop their mule caravan, to the men's astonishment, the box containing the image of Candelaria Virgen became unbearably heavy, forcing them to rest it on top of a large boulder. However, when the box was seated upon its petrous altar, the doors suddenly opened and a voice from inside called out "Caiman, caiman!" which the men interpreted to mean that the Virgin desired to remain there and not be moved to Cuzco.⁶⁴

Even though their artistic manufacture and geographic origins differ, the Virgin of Copacabana and the Virgins Cayma were similarly shaped by local politics and contested religious exchanges among and between Andean and Spanish populations. Moreover, the foundational origin stories of both iconic devotions point to the varied, shifting responses

⁶² According to the Corregidor Don Juan de Ulloa Mogollón's 1586 *Relación* (Account) of the Province of the Collaguas within in the Diocese of Arequipa sent to King Felipe II, the land-route from the coastal city of Lima to the valley of Arequipa was around 170 leagues, and travel from Arequipa to the highland capital of Cuzco was another 44 leagues on foot. *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*. Vol. 2 (Madrid: Tip. de M.G. Hernández, 1885), 43.

⁶³ While the Aymara term "Lari" refers to both a kinship relationship (the maternal uncle) as well as a state of being (homelessness, vagabondage), its composite "Lari lari" defines a type of stateless highland people (cimarrones) who do not recognize the authority of a cacique. Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*, [1612], tomo 1, (1879), 449, 463; tomo 2, (1879), 191.

⁶⁴ The Quechua adverb "Cayman" in Spanish is translated as "acá" which may refer to both time "now" and space "in this place." Holguín, *Arte y diccionario qquechua-español*, 55. The Virgin's miraculous enunciation has also been transcribed as "Cca-mann Cca-mann" translated as "aquí" (here). Alejandro Málaga Núñez Zeballos, "El culto a la Virgen Candelaria en el Sur Andino. Principales Santuarios en Arequipa," in Antonio Garrido Aranda, ed., *A propósito de Raúl Porras Barrechea: Viejos y Nuevos Temas de Cultura Andina*, (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 2001), 173.

of indigenous locals ranging from overt rejection to transformative adoption. Native populations were inextricably involved in the manufacture, transportation, protestation and appropriation of the Virgin's miracle-working images that served to re-consecrate local Andean geography.



Figure 42: Anonymous Cuzco School, “The Conversion of an Indigenous Nobleman through the Virgin of Copacabana’s Miraculous Intercession,” 1700-1730. Private Collection, Lima, Peru.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Image Source: Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600 - 1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford: Skira Editors, 2006), 49.

The replication of the Virgin of Copacabana's miracle-working image in printed, sculpted, and painted copies not only disseminated her devotional cult across but also transformed its religious meaning among locally-situated colonial Andean Christians. For example, in marked contrast with the seventeenth-century copper print in which the Jesuit priest mediates the Inca's access to the celestial realm, an anonymous eighteenth-century painting from the Cuzco School visualizes the cosmological power of the sculpted Virgin of Copacabana as acting upon an indigenous nobleman to effectuate religious conversion (Figure 42).

On the left-hand side of the painting, an indigenous nobleman kneels reverentially, in front of a dressed statue of the Virgin of Copacabana, and between two Augustinian friars. The Andean man's elite identity is signaled both by his clothing—he is dressed in a colorful *uncu* decorated with geometric *tocapu*—as well as the figuration of a feathered headdress, located on the ground by his feet, which recalls the Inca's royal insignia of the *mascaypacha* crown. While one tonsured friar rests his hands lightly on the Inca, his companion carries a cross and pours baptismal water onto the convert's head. Between the two friars, a standing angel bears witness to the man's symbolic conversion. However, rather than looking down, the angel's face is tilted to the left as if to beckoning an undisclosed viewer beyond the painting's frame.

Another angel guides the indigenous convert's soul into the heavenly realm to be received by God the father ensconced in billowing clouds. Together, the painting's left-

hand upper and lower registers narrate the symbolic conversion of the Inca as redemptive process which, though occurring on earth, serves to liberate his Christian soul from its physical container. The Virgin of Copacabana represented as a sculpted altar-image on the painting's right-hand side not only serves to symmetrically balance the left-hand composition, but likewise suggests that rather than the Augustinian friars, the miraculous image orchestrated the Inca nobleman's conversion. Enthroned on her out-door altar and crowned by a Trinity represented by two identical Christ figures and the dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit, the Virgin dominates the compositional space, underscoring her hierarchical relationship to the earthly figures on the painting's left-hand side. The primacy of the Virgin of Copacabana in the composition underscores her celestial privilege while implying the symbolic displacement of clergymen as the privileged mediators between heaven and earth.

This dual-image representing both indigenous conversion and the Virgin of Copacabana's dressed altar-image thus broadens our interpretive horizons by drawing us to move back and forth between the Christian image and its ritual significance to the Andean devotee. In doing so, it also reveals how colonial Andean Christianities emerged through and expressed the intercessory power of sacred images that were geographically-situated. Specifically, this painting suggests the ritual parallels between Andean *huacas* and Christian saints that both manifested their intercessory power through visual encounters with living populations. Moreover, it also asks us to consider more deeply

how Catholic missionary discourse could also advance the hybrid visualization of colonial saints by promoting symbolic convergences between Andean and Christian cosmological power.

Under Spanish-Christianity, Catholic priests channeled Andeans' ritual veneration of *Pachamama* [Mother Earth] to fit their missionary agendas and effectively reinforced the symbolic association between the Virgin and mountains, particularly the *Cerro Rico* [Rich Hill] of Potosí. The Virgin's symbolic identification with the mountain, while particularly crystallized during the seventeenth-century, was already anticipated by indigenous artists active during the late sixteenth-century. In a drawing attributed to Francisco Tito Yupanqui, the indigenous artist represents the Virgin of the Candelaria as a hierophanic image who appears over Potosí (Figure 43).



Figure 43: Attributed to Francisco Tito Yupanqui, “The Virgin of Potosí,” ca. 1584-1588. Ink drawing on paper.⁶⁶

Whereas in Guaman Poma’s depiction of Potosí the Inca is affixed to the mountain, in this drawing the Virgin hovers above the rich mountain of Potosí with her arms extended and framed by circular clouds. She faces the viewer frontally, as if offering up the Andean landscape and highland town of Potosí pictured beneath her. The Virgin’s colonization of the mountain and town of Potosí, while reflected by her spatial position, is also suggested by a pictorial absence. As only the Virgin’s torso is visible, the mountain’s triangular shape takes the place of her body. Significantly, just as the Virgin’s

⁶⁶ Image Source: Jesús Viscarra, *Copacabana de los Incas: Documentos autolingüísticos é isografiados del Ayámaru-Ayámara, protógonos de los pre-americanos* (La Paz: Editores Plaza Hermanos, 1901), 138.

identification with the mountain is reflected by spatial convergence, this visual juxtaposition invokes the mountain's equivalent position *as* the Virgin. By suggesting the potential conflation of the Virgin-mountain, Tito Yupanqui's drawing foreshadows how the Virgin and mountain were symbolically associated in later textual accounts, and, by the eighteenth-century, represented in hybrid visualizations that produced a new iconographic motif.

The Franciscan priest Luis Gerónimo de Oré inserted the Virgin Mary within Andean cosmological frameworks by describing her in 1598 as both a “fertile soil” and a “beautiful mountain.”⁶⁷ Moreover, early seventeenth-century Augustinian chroniclers Alonso Ramos de Gavilán (1570-1639) and Antonio de la Calancha (1584-1654) reinforced the allegorical relationship between the Virgin Mary and Andean symbols of fertility such as the sun and mountains. In his 1621 chronicle, Ramos Gavilán consolidates a cosmological relationship between Mary and God by likening the spread of Christianity to the agricultural cycle: “God [is] the father produces life, since nothing comes from the earth except through the Virgin, he deposits in her the rays of his power so that after she as a Mother can transmit them to the earth.”⁶⁸ Similarly, in borrowing

⁶⁷ Specifically, he associates the Virgin with the agricultural fertility using the Quechua term *camac allpa* (fertile soil), thus strategically invoking but also avoiding the term *camac pacha* (fertile earth) linked Andean idolatry. Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550-1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dam Press, 2007), 265.

⁶⁸ “[...] María es el monte de donde salió aquella piedra sin pies ni manos que es Cristo... Dios (es) el padre que produce la vida, (y) porque ningún bien llegue a la tierra sin que se deba a la Virgen, deposita en ella los rayos de su poder, para que después ella como Madre, los comunique a la tierra.” Alonso Ramos

from the Book of Revelations he also established a symbolic equivalence between Mary, stones, and mountains, writing: “Mary is the mountain from whom Christ the rock without feet or hands emerged.”⁶⁹ Significantly, Calancha uses visual metaphors to compares the mineral wealth of Potosí with the Virgin Mary’s miracle-working dispersed throughout Peru by pronouncing that “each one is a mine, where Miracles rather than silver spill over, and producing riches by grace, there in nature can be found treasures of health and life.”⁷⁰ By comparing or conflating the Virgin with a precious mountain, sixteenth and seventeenth-century missionaries promoted a new colonial iconography in which Andean and Christian symbolism converged.

While Tito Yupanqui’s seventeenth-century drawing depicts the Virgin Mary above the mountain, eighteenth-century paintings represent the Virgin *as* the mountain (Figure 44).

Gavilán, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana. Segunda edición completa, según la edición príncipe de 1621*. (La Paz: Cámara Nacional de Comercio-Cámara Nacional de Industrias, 1976), 125. Cited in Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*, 19, 21.

⁶⁹ The Augustinian friar also used similar terms to describe a stone idol venerated by pre-Hispanic populations in Copacabana with a human face but face whose feet and hands had been cut off.

⁷⁰ “Cada una es mina, donde en vez de plata rebosa Milagros, i produciendo riquezas la gracia, alla tesoros de salud i vida la naturaleza.” Calancha, *Crónica*, vol. 1, 37. Cited in Kenneth Mills, “Territorios agustinos de la gracia: Antonio de la Calancha y el Libro de Job en los Andes del siglo XVII,” in *Augustín en Espagne: XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2015), 188.



Figure 44: Anonymous, *The Virgin-Mountain*, oil on canvas, 18th century. Museo Nacional de la Moneda, Potosí, Bolivia.⁷¹

In this eighteenth-century painting, the anonymous artist represents the singular entity of the *Virgen-Cerro* [Virgin-as-Hill] an iconographic motif that evocatively recalls Guaman Poma's representation of the Inca's physical consubstantiation with the

⁷¹ Image Source: Rubén Ruiz Ortiz, ed., *Iconografía pintura virreinal* (Potosí: Casa Nacional de Moneda, 2014), 139.

mountain of Potosí. The Virgin-Hill anchors the painting's visually and balances symbolic divisions between the celestial and terrestrial spheres. The heavenly space is occupied by five divinities figures in the process of placing a golden crown on the Virgin's head. These include, from left to right, the Archangel Saint Michael with a sword and sphere, God the Son wearing liturgical garb and holding a chalice, the Dove of the Holy Spirit, God the Father dressed in a cope or pluvial, and Saint Gabriel with a flaming heart. Paralleling the Virgin's celestial crowning in the upper-most register is her terrestrial veneration by figures representing Spanish civil and religious authorities as well as the painting's patron. A blue globe inscribed with silver mountains invoking the geography of the city of Potosí divides these earthly devotees into two groups. On the left a bishop, a cardinal, Pope Paul III and on the right Carlos V, a member of the military Order of Santiago, and an anonymous donor—perhaps an Andean *curaca* dressed in Spanish clothing—all reverentially gaze at the Virgin enthroned above them. Besides connecting heavenly and earthly devotion, the centrality of the Virgin-Hill functions as a narrative space to communicate Andean cultural understandings of religion and power which were reconfigured under Spanish Catholicism.

For example, the Virgin's outstretched hands direct the viewer's gaze to look beyond her bounded frame at exterior figures, namely, the Sun to her left and the Moon to her right. Besides triangulating the Virgin to replicate the Holy Trinity, the Sun and Moon establish a cosmic order that differs from the traditional Christian juxtaposition of

heaven and hell. Specifically, the gendered symmetry established by the figuration of the Sun (male) and Moon (female) parallels the Andean cosmological balance expressed through *tinkuy*—the powerful union of complementary opposites. Moreover, the Virgin reconciles the tensions between Andean and Spanish religion through her physical appearance and human activation. While her youthful face appears European, the Virgin’s body is deeply rooted in a localized, animated Andean geography.

The geographic body of the Virgen-Hill is pictured as a lavishly embroidered red gown ornamented by identifiable Andean and Spanish figures as well as plants, trees, horses, llamas, vicuñas and a variety of diminutive figures dressed in European attire who walk up hills and paths, crossing the Virgin’s lap. However, the Virgin’s symbolic heart contains two Andean persons: an Inca holding a golden scepter (*sunturpaucar*) and a man dressed in a red *uncu*. The Inca’s hierarchical superiority in relationship to other persons in the interior of the mountain is doubly signaled by his scale and position as he is situated in the gendered Andean hierarchical space of the left-hand side of *Hanan* just beneath the Sun—a masculine deity whose anthropomorphic golden effigy was venerated during ritual processions that marked the solar calendar.⁷² With her head slightly

⁷² Gold was particularly significant given its relationship to the Sun deity *Inti*, whom the Incas claimed as their father. For example, golden plates were affixed to the walls of the temple dedicated to *Inti* known as the Coricancha which also housed the Sun’s image, *Punchao*, an anthropomorphic figure with the likeness of a ten-year old boy. For an analysis of the symbolic representation of the Sun as *Punchao*, see: Pierre Duviols, “Punchao ídolo mayo del Coricancha. Historia y Tipología,” *Antropología andina* 1-2 (1976): 156-183.

inclined to the left, the Virgin's invokes the Inca as the recipient of her celestial power, establishing a reciprocal kinship relationship to her Andean devotee.

The Virgin-Hill's iconography thus creatively juxtaposes Andean spatial relationships based on kinship with Christian understandings of the cosmic hierarchy to produce a pictorial syntax legible to culturally-diverse audiences. On the one hand, indigenous publics could read the mountain as indexing the geographic locus of the Virgin's sacred power. European viewers, on the other, might interpret the Virgin's conflation with the mountain as signaling the successful Christianization of the Andes. The *Virgen-Cerro* of Potosí thus visually codifies an ancestral kinship relationship between the Andean sacred landscape and European Christianity. As such, she is neither an Andean nor an Hispanic deity, but rather a new saint; the historical product of cultural power relations under Spanish colonialism. Even though Catholic priests promoted local advocations of the Virgin Mary such as the *Virgen-Cerro* of Potosí and the Virgin of Copacabana, they could not control how indigenous communities apprehended the ritual power of these Christian images.⁷³ The latter half of this chapter demonstrates how Andean understandings of sacred power or *camay* associated with ancestral volcanoes and mountains were symbolically linked to one miracle-working Virgin venerated by

⁷³ For an excellent overview on religious "renewals" in colonial Andean iconography, see: Carolyn Dean, "The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1997) 171-182.

indigenous parishioners in Cayma, a rural parish just outside of the “White City” of Arequipa.

A Secular Priest and the Andean Sacred: The Miraculous Virgin of Cayma

The secular priest Don Juan Domingo Zamácola y Jáuregui (1746-1823) spent over four decades (1778-1823) reforming his indigenous parish of Cayma situated on the fertile banks of the Chili River just outside of Arequipa.⁷⁴ When Zamácola began his tenure in Cayma in 1778, he immediately began a series of urban planning projects centered around the main plaza and marked its entrance with four stone arcades. The visionary curate’s enlightenment philosophy was expressed in the slogan “the education of the *pueblo* is the supreme law of progress” and made manifest by his radical indigenous resettlement program and establishment of a local school.⁷⁵ To centralize his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Zamácola relocated natives into Cayma’s urban center, forcing them to abandon or rent out their farmlands to Spanish *hacendados* while streamlining his own access to their indigenous labor. Native parishioners not only built a mixed-race primary school, municipal hall, prison, and residence for their local *curaca* (ethnic lord), but also expanded the streets around the main plaza. Moreover, before and after a major

⁷⁴ When in 15040 the Spanish founded the city of Arequipa, they relocated originary native populations from the urban center to surrounding *rancherías* (rural farms) where they were evangelized by Dominican friars. In 1582, to minister to natives from nearby *reducciones* (settlements), the Dominican friars built a hermitage on the banks of the River Chili that was later replaced, in the early eighteenth-century, with the Church of Archangel Saint Michael whose original façade (ca. 1730-1750) is still preserved.

⁷⁵ Santos Cesario Benavite Velez, “Conocimiento Histórico: Cayma”. *Santos Cesario* January 27, 2010, n.d., web. <http://santosbenavente.blogspot.com/2010/01/conocimiento-historico-cayma.html>. Accessed 8/28/2016.

1784 earthquake struck Arequipa and damaged their local Church of the Archangel Saint Michael, indigenous laborers worked on its construction and ornamentation (Figure 45).

According to Zamácola, the 1784 earthquake left both the church and his annexing house in a “ruined state.” Furthermore, the church bell towers and its walls edifice by the “entirely run through with cracks” such that the stone vaults and arches in the nave had to be entirely replaced with wooden structures.⁷⁶



Figure 45: The original façade of the Church of the Archangel of Saint Michael with an alcove displaying the Virgin of Cayma is still preserved today.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Zamácola, *Apuntes para la historia de Arequipa*, 1804, 65; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 108. Remarkably, on the morning of December 2nd, another earthquake miraculously rejoined the cracked dome and walls of the church’s sacristy rendering the building complete and functional. Zamácola, *Apuntes para la historia de Arequipa*, 42-43.

⁷⁷ The original carved stone façade of the Church of Cayma was designed by the architect Antonio Pérez del Cuadro in 1719, finished in 1730, and according to an inscription within the church, consecrated in

During the lengthy period of the church's reconstruction (1780-1805), Zamácola converted the parish house into a bustling workshop where local and foreign artisans including sculptors, stonemasons, painters, master architects, organ-makers, and bricklayers worked on rebuilding and ornamenting the church.⁷⁸ In his 1789 church inventory, Zamácola noted that he had commissioned the Italian architect Carlo Abanchine (Avancini) from Cuzco to design two lateral chapels along the church nave to buttress the weight of its stone dome.⁷⁹ He also commissioned the well-established sculptor Asensio Talavera to modify the octagonal niche in the church presbytery containing the Virgin's altar-image according to an unspecified print.⁸⁰ The church's expensive renovation and decoration not only reflects Zamácola's administrative power, but also his privileged access to local native artisans and celebrated artists from Cuzco such as Jacinto de Carbajal.⁸¹

1739 by the Basque friar Manuel de Garayochea. Image Source: Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, Figure 3.30.

⁷⁸ Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 110. *Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa* 2.1.1. Vicario: Arequipa; Cayma, Legajo 1: Inventario de la obra material...de la yglesia parroquial de San Miguel de Cayma (1820). *Ibid.*, 392.

⁷⁹ Zamácola, *Apuntes*, 65. Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 108-109.

⁸⁰ Almerindo Ojeda, "El Grabado Como Fuente del Arte Colonial: Estado de la Cuestión." Abril 3, 2014. *PESSCA Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art*, on-line. Retrieved 3-27-2016.

<http://colonialart.org>. Cited in Ramón Gutiérrez, "La iglesia de Cayma: Una obra excepcional de arquitectura arequipeña." *Revista Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa*, 4 (1997), 42.

⁸¹ Historical information on the Cuzco artist Carbajal is extremely limited but he is referenced in the following studies. Rúben Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artifices coloniales de la América Meridional*, (Lima: Talleres Gráficos A. Baiocco, 1947), 300; Teresa Gisbert, "Del Cusco a Potosí: La religiosidad del sur andino," in *Barroco Peruano* II, (Lima: Banco del Crédito, 2003), 70.

Around 1780 Zamácola commissioned Jacinto Carbajal to paint thirteen canvases “copied from old, broken and discarded [paintings]” which illustrated the miracles of the Virgin of Cayma.⁸² Despite the absence of an artist’s contract that might shed light on the visual sources used for Carbajal’s commission, Zamácola’s 1820 church inventory notes that they were intended to function as more than decorative devices. Since the miracle-paintings were originally displayed in the church choir directly beneath the nave, they would have been viewed by indigenous parishioners, visiting dignitaries from Arequipa including its Bishops, and regional pilgrims who came to the church to venerate the miracle-working Virgin of Cayma.

Only nine of the thirteen paintings are dated, but their chronological scope ranges from 1540 until 1779, thus, they establish a visual genealogy of the Virgin’s miracles. By commissioning these images, Zamácola likely hoped to advance to political agendas. Firstly, to inspire parishioners’ local veneration of the miraculous image of the Virgin and secondly, to promote the Church of Cayma as one of the principal pilgrimage sanctuaries in greater Arequipa.⁸³ The priest’s personal investment in spreading popular devotion to the Virgin of Cayma is likewise reflected in other commissions. Around 1780, Zamácola contracted a Lima printer to publish over a thousand copies of a *novena*

⁸² According to Zamácola’s 1820 inventory of the church of Cayma, the paintings he commissioned by Carbajal (12 total) to illustrate the miracles of the Virgin of Cayma were originally located beneath the choir of the church’s nave. Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 391-395.

⁸³ The historical status of Cayma as a regional pilgrimage center likely originated in the early seventeenth-century, specifically in 1604 when the Virgin’s status was brought to Arequipa. Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del culto de María*, 567-568.

to the Virgin written by the Bishop of Arequipa Monsignor Manuel Abad e Illana which he freely distributed and implemented during the month of February.⁸⁴ Moreover, he also designated a building that annexed the parish Church as a hospice for Saturday pilgrims and had another Lima publisher print five thousand copies of an engraving of the Virgin's miracle-working in Cayma.⁸⁵

Significantly, the existence of a late eighteenth-century painting currently housed in a Paris museum suggest that the Virgin's devotional cult have already spread beyond greater Arequipa, perhaps to Cuzco or Lima, even before Zamácola began his tenure as the parish priest of Cayma (Figure 46).⁸⁶ The anonymous early eighteenth-century painting below illustrates the foundational miracle of the Candelaria Virgin in Cayma as a hierophanic image which appears before indigenous populations within an idyllic Andean highland locale that includes fruit-bearing trees, colorful birds, majestic mountains, and a flowing river crossed by a wooden bridge leading to a large church. Rather than a small, portable statue, the anonymous artist depicts the Virgin as a larger-

⁸⁴ Though Zamácola dedicated his *novena* to the Virgin from his parish of Cayma, the Bishop's *novena* was actually written to a Spanish Virgin from his hometown of Rubialejos, near Valladolid, Spain. Monsignor Manuel Abad Illana, *Novena a Mariá Santísima Madre de Dios con el título de Rubialejos que se venera extramuros de la Villa Pesquera, a distancia de seis leguas de Valladolid, impresa en la misma ciudad* (Palencia: 1986); *Novena de la Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de Caima* (Arequipa: Centro de Estudios Arequipeños), 1952; José Antonio Benito Rodríguez, "Cayma en la devoción popular," *Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa*, no. 4 (1997): 87; *50 Aniversario Candelaria del Cayma: Edición Commemorativa, 1947-1997* (Arequipa: Universidad Nacional de San Agustín), 1977.

⁸⁵ Gutiérrez, "La iglesia de Cayma," 41, 43.

⁸⁶ It is possible that this image was also produced by a Cuzco school painter, perhaps Diego de Almoguera who also worked alongside Carabjal in Cayma's parish workshop to produce two Christ images to decorate the church's Chapel of All Souls. Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 110.

than-life numen seated on top of a large, flat rock and surrounded by indigenous men wearing elaborately-embroidered *uncus* (woven textile cloaks) and donning feathered headdresses.⁸⁷

Further underscoring the hierophanic nature of the image-as-aparition, the deity's heads are ensconced by billowing clouds punctuated by twelve stars that invoke the "crown of twelve stars" worn by the Apocalyptic Woman and signify her symbolic association with the Immaculate Virgin considered the "Star of the Sea."⁸⁸



⁸⁷ *Uncu* is a type of knee-length tunic without sleeves or a collar. Holguín, *Arte y diccionario quechua-español*, 381.

⁸⁸ Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 309.

Figure 46: Anonymous. “Apparition of the Virgen of Cayma,” ca. 1725. Oil on canvas. Collection Priet-Gaudibert, Musée Quai Branly, Paris, France.⁸⁹

The Virgin is dressed in a red gown with lace sleeves draped by a blue mantle and holds a candlestick in one hand while the other encircles the diminutive torso of the Christ Child bearing a small globe topped with a cross in one hand and blessing the indigenous populations beneath him with his other. Both the Virgin and Christ Child wear golden crowns festooned with red, white, and blue plumes that match the feathered headdresses or *chucu* of the four indigenous men kneeling before them with their hands clasped in humble devotion.⁹⁰ One man wearing a metal helmet and holding a *llaca-chuqui* (plumed lance) stands beside his kneeling companions, reaching his free hand toward the Virgin and Child as he gazes upwards, enraptured by the divine vision set before him.⁹¹

Framing the scene of the miraculous apparition, an indigenous man peers out behind a flower-laden tree. Instead of beholding the internal scene of the Virgin’s miracle, his gaze is directed beyond the painting’s frame, thereby establishing a mimetic

⁸⁹ Image Source: “De l’or, des anges et des roses : peintures des Andes XVIe - XVIIIe siècles de la collection Priet-Gaudibert: Exposition, Musée du Nouveau Monde, La Rochelle, du 18 décembre 2014 au 31 mars 2015,” Direction des musées d’Art et d’Histoire, Musée du Nouveau monde (La Rochelle), press release 2014, online PDF at http://cecupe.pagesperso-orange.fr/DossierDePresse_Priet_LaRochelle.pdf, accessed October 16, 2018.

⁹⁰ The Quechua term “Chucu” is defined as “bonete, sombre antiguo” Ibid., 87.

⁹¹ “Llaca-chuqui” meaning “lanza con plumas para la guerra” (feathered lance used in war). Ibid., 188. The weapons used by the guards of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui were spears whose shafts were made from the wood of palms with lances of copper metal decorated with a tassel made from the bristles of javelís (wild boars from the mountains) called *llaca chuquies*. Pedro de Carbajal, “Descripción fecha de la provincia de Vilcas Huaman [1586], in *Relaciones geográficas*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Tipografía de Manuel G. Hernández, 1881), 167.

visual relationship with the external viewer. At the same time as the indigenous onlooker bridges the gap between the inside painting and that of its outside audience, his disclosed body serves as a central axis, one that unites the painting's two temporally and spatially-distinct registers: the left-hand foreground's time/space of the Virgin's miraculous apparition and the right-hand background time/space of the rural town setting marked by a large church enclosed by grey mountains. Significantly, instead of representing a generic landscape, the artist depicts specific topographic elements such as the river Chili around whose banks indigenous populations first established their settlements as well as a chain of mountains enclosing the town of Cayma.⁹²

Not only are the indigenous men depicted in the painting the privileged, ocular witnesses to the Virgin's apparition, but they also exhibit spiritual sight-as-comprehension given they are shown actively worshipping the deity. Further signaling local populations' on-going ritual veneration of the Virgin of Cayma is the appearance of several townspeople who, as if on their way to attend mass, are shown walking across a bridge over a river which leads to the church. Though smaller in size than the men gathered around the Virgin's feet, in the painting's right-hand corner—a space

⁹² Though Dominican friars oversaw a local hermitage in the indigenous *doctrina* (parish) of Cayma as early as 1544, the stone church with its domed bell tower is evidently a posterior construction given that it was only in the early eighteenth century that a stone church was first constructed to replace the former temple. Though historical documentation concerning the precise dating of the church of Cayma's construction is absent, according to miracle-paintings decorating its interior its construction was under-way as early as 1712, and the church was officially inaugurated on February 10, 1730. See Ramón Gutiérrez, "La iglesia de Cayma: Una obra excepcional de la arquitectura arequipeña," *Revista Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa*, 4 (1997): 39.

traditionally reserved for a donor's portrait— an indigenous couple are shown facing the viewer and holding up an oval cartouche, as if it were a mirror symbolizing the Virgin's purity. The surface of the cartouche is inscribed with the following explanatory text:

This is Our Blessed Virgin of Cayma Benefactor of Indians whose lives are wretched and who conquered their lives on these lands on two occasions and saved from the river a devotee and comforting ignorance finding health [and] comfort in the protector of all misfortunes beautiful mother of the heavens this Image of Caima.⁹³

The cartouche thus defines the Virgin of Cayma as a powerful image-deity who protects “miserable Indians” by actively meeting their physical and spiritual needs and earth, and who intercedes on their behalf from the heavenly sphere. Like the four men with their feathered headdresses, the indigenous couple are represented in a stereotypical and gendered fashion; their generic brown bodies merely serve as decorative devices to frame the cartouche-mirror and as physical metonyms for the indigenous collectivity. As such, the painting follows European pictorial conventions by depicting the hieratic image of the Virgin set before an outdoor altar and eliciting the active devotion of her ocular witnesses—in this case indigenous populations in Cayma. However, the painting also reflects Andean cosmological understandings of the sacred landscape by depicting the

⁹³ The original Spanish inscription reads, “*Es Nuestra Vendita Virgen de Caima Vienhechora de Yndios infelices de sus vidas i que conquisto ella en dos oportunidades a su vida estas tierras i que salvou devoto en el rio i consolando su ignorancia encontrando salud consuelo con este [sic] Ymagen de Caima protector de todos los males linda madre de los cielos.*”

Virgin as if she were spilling forth from the top of a large bolder or presentational stone, perhaps an *ushnu* or a hammered stone throne used by the Incas.⁹⁴

As previously discussed, Andean stone was believed to embody the sacred in terms of both its substance (material composition) as well as essence (metaphysical properties). As such, large rocks which marked the landscape were venerated as ancestral *huancas* or *huacas*—the physical manifestations of the divine, transferrable power of *camay*—with territorial jurisdiction over the land and its human inhabitants. The painting’s visualization of the Virgin’s miraculous apparition thus evidences Andean understandings of cosmological power as she is materially linked to the large, presentational stone already venerated as a sacred object or *huaca* imbued *camay*. The stone thus serves as a natural pedestal to support the numinous deity while also marking—through its visual and material presence—the site of the sacred. In addition to the cosmological significance of the stone *huaca*-altar, the painting’s composition expresses Andean spatial hierarchies.

The Virgin and *huaca* are situated in the hierarchically superior left-hand space of *Hanan* thus signifying their political authority over the lower-right hand side of *Hurin*. Given that Dominican friars constructed a hermitage devoted to the Virgin of Cayma as early as 1544, the stone church pictured in the painting likely represents an architectural

⁹⁴ *Ushnu* was the Inca imperial seat or throne carved from stone and was also defined as variably to describe a judge’s tribunal made from flattened or hammered rock (“Tribunal del Juez, de una piedra incada”) or a boundary stone (“Mojón, cuando es de piedra grande hincada”). Holguin, *Arte y diccionario quechua-español*, 386.

construction posterior to the miraculous apparition of the Virgin of Cayma. The spatial location of the Virgin and *huaca*—above and to the left—thus signifies their sacred authority over the indigenous populations and by extension, over the territory surrounding the town itself. Following the painting’s cosmological and spatial symbolism, the Virgin not only appears as the reigning authority over the hierarchical space of *Hanan*, but likewise is conceptually and materially linked to the *huaca*—both marking and reinforcing its sacred ownership over the inhabited lands represented in the right-hand register of *Hurin*. The Virgin’s apparition atop the stone *huaca* in the space of *Hanan* can be interpreted as either augmenting the *huaca*’s already sacred nature, or, alternatively, as having co-opted the sacred power of the *huaca* to become the newly-reigning deity with authority over Cayma’s human geography.

The visual correlations between the anonymous painting in Paris and Carbajal’s painting of the Virgin of Cayma’s originary miracle also suggest that the two shared a common source or that one image served as the model for the other. Given their inclusion of colorful birds and depiction of a typical Andean highland landscape, both images testify to the artistic influence of the Cuzco School of painting. However, in Carbajal’s painting of the Virgin’s foundational miracle, there are several key differences. For example, rather than a hierophanic image, the statue of the Virgin appears as a modest sculpture inside a wooden box and she is dwarfed by the large boulder that serves as her geographic support (Figure 47).

As in the Paris painting, the indigenous men that frame the Virgin's image wear elaborate feathered headdresses and there are no Spanish persons figured in the internal composition.⁹⁵ The Cuzco painter does however invoke his Spanish patron as Cabajal through text as he signs his painting with the inscription: Monsignor Don Jacinto Carbajal. By order of Don Domingo de Zamácola y Jauregui Priest of Caima, The Year of 1780.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ The cartouche further echoes the Paris painting's inscription as it reads: "According to established tradition, Our Lady of Cayma was one of the previous jewels with which the Emperor Carlos V enriched this Empire. Upon passing through this place, she spoke on two occasions to the Indians that carried her: Caiman, Caiman, and they could no longer move her." *"Es tradicion asentada serla S.ra de Caima, una de las preciosas Joyas con q el Emperador Carlos V enriqueció este Ymperio, Y que al pasar por este Sitio, habló por dos ocasiones a los Yndios que la conducian: Caiman, Caiman, i no la pudieron mover más."*

⁹⁶ "Mnsr. Dn Jacinto Carbajal. Por mandado de Dn Domingo de Zamácola y Jauregui Cura de Caima. Año de 1780."



Figure 47: Jacinto Carbajal, “Miracle of the Apparition of the Candelaria,” 1780. Oil on Canvas. Iglesia de Cayma, Peru.⁹⁷

In other words, the image paradoxically privileges indigenous devotion to the Virgin of Cayma in its visual content while textually reinforcing the patronage and oversight of the Spanish priest. Significantly, the painting’s focus on indigenous

⁹⁷ *ARCHI* (Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano). 02.000661.001.

populations as the benefactors of the Virgin of Cayma's originary miracle directly contrasts with Zamácola patronizing descriptions of indigenous populations' in his own parish. In a 1789 letter to the Intendant Don Antonio Álvarez y Jiménez, Zamácola derides indigenous populations for their social disorder, describing them as prone to the vices of laziness, idolatry, and the "the age-old hereditary abuse of their elders"—a situation which, he claims, was exacerbated by the abolishment of the Spanish *repartimiento* system.⁹⁸ Moreover, he berated native parishioners for their apparent lack of Christian devotion, noting that he had personally shouldered the expense of decorating much of the parish church "without costing the community a single thing" because the Indians "have such a propensity for their private aims."⁹⁹ In addition, even as his 1820 church inventory lists a number of ornaments donated by indigenous locals, Zamácola consistently downgrades their significance in relation to the far more costly ornaments donated by Spanish members of Arequipa's aristocracy, including two bishops.¹⁰⁰ For example, though the church displayed in its chancel one expensive oil painting of the Heart of Mary with a gilded frame was commissioned by the local *curaca* of Cayma, Don Agustín Alpaca and his wife, Zamácola lamented that it had not officially been donated

⁹⁸ "Comunicaciones del Párroco de Cayma D. Juan Domingo Zamácola al Intendente de Arequipa D. Antonio Álvarez y Jiménez relacionadas con la visita a su doctrina," in Zamácola, *Apuntes*, 37-38. Quoted in Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 105.

⁹⁹ Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 112, 105

¹⁰⁰ According to Zamácola's 1820 church inventory, several clergymen from the Cathedral of Arequipa gifted oil paintings and gilded sculptures and the Bishop of Arequipa Monsignor Manuel Abad y Yllana sent the Church of Cayma an altar-stone imported from Huamanga and a new organ that was produced in Arequipa by a Franciscan friar. Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 391.

to the church.¹⁰¹ Similarly, he expresses his racist opprobrium towards the altar of the Archangel Saint Michael donated by an indigenous local named Don Bernardo del Pino by qualifying its appearance as being “in poor taste both in its carving and its gilding.”¹⁰²

At the same time as Zamácola targeted indigenous locals as the objects of his civilizing mission as parish priest of Cayma, his enlightenment philosophy and professional aspirations were intimately linked to the region’s reigning ecclesiastical hierarchy. During the first year of Zamácola’s appointment, the Bishop of Arequipa Monsignor Manuel Abad y Yllana (1717-1781) visited the Cayma and spent a month overseeing all church functions while exhorting indigenous parishioners to partake of the sacraments, particularly infant baptism. It is possible that after the Bishop’s 1781 death, Zamácola commissioned a painting of the Virgin of Cayma to honor the deceased bishop—whose biography he later wrote—given that the bishop is included as one of the Virgin’s devotees (Figure 48).¹⁰³ In this late eighteenth-century statue-painting, the bishop, pictured on the left-hand side of the Virgin, is identified with inscription. *EL YLLMO SEÑOR ABAD YLLANA*. It is possible that Zamácola also included his portrait in the painting in the figure of the priest pictured opposite to the bishop, thereby

¹⁰¹ After describing the image identifying its indigenous patrons, Zamácola clarifies that “it should be noted that [the image] was not given to the church.” *Ibid.*, 394.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 111.

¹⁰³ José Antonio Benito Rodríguez, “Cayma en la devoción popular,” *Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa*, no. 4 (1997): 87. Juan Domingo Zamácola y Jauregui, *Vida de Monseñor Manuel Abad Illana, Obispo de Arequipa, 1795*, (Arequipa: Centro de Estudios Arequipeños/Universidad Nacional de San Agustín), 1997.

establishing a symmetrical relationship with the bishop as equally devoted the miracle-working Virgin of Cayma.



Figure 48: Anonymous, “Our Lady of Cayma,” ca. 1783. Oil on Canvas. 170.2 x 118.1 cm. Private Collection, Washington, D.C.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Image Source: Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, ed., *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600 - 1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford: Skira Editors, 2006), 153. Note: The twin towers depicted in the painting were not constructed until 1783, thus the Museum catalog’s date of 1771-1782 is incorrect.

What role did Zamácola play in the final determination of what was depicted in his commissioned paintings? How might Carbajal's images communicate visual information to indigenous parishioners while ostensibly complying with the Spanish priest's moralizing agendas? And how did indigenous populations, in turn, conceptualize the visual power of the Virgin of Cayma represented in miracle-paintings or ritually venerated through the altar-image housed in their parish church? To answer these queries, I address Carbajal's cultural identity as a Cuzco painter to trouble the relationship between his iconographic production and the agendas of his Spanish patron. While situating Carbajal's miracle-paintings in relationship to the church's broader decorative program, I specifically analyze two images from different pictorial traditions to suggest how Carbajal communicated through an Andean visual vocabulary that often undermined Zamácola's doctrinary and political agendas.

Pictorial Challenges to Spanish Hegemony

The way in which the Cuzco artist reframed European pictorial traditions through Andean spatial symbolism can be seen in Carbajal's monumental painting, displayed in the church choir, that visually links biblical history with the sacred geography of Cayma (Figure 49).



Figure 49: Jacinto Carbajal, “Unknown Title” circa 1780. Iglesia de Cayma, Peru. Photo: Courtesy Martín Silva.

The leftmost register of the painting presents the biblical parable of Jesus’ cleansing of the temple in which he accuses the merchants and moneylenders of Jerusalem of corrupting his sacred temple through their economic pursuits.¹⁰⁵ The dominating Christ figure dons a red robe (a reference to his supreme royalty as Christ was referred to as “Jesus, the King of Kings”) and brandishes a whip, poised to strike at a nearby merchant. The overturned tables and spilt baskets of money depicted in the painting’s lower-right hand corner further underscore the chaotic scene. The fact that Carbajal modeled his painting after a widely-circulated Flemish print, specifically, Jerónimo Nadal’s *Evangelicae historiae imagines* published in the late sixteenth century,

¹⁰⁵ “And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves, And said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.” Matthew 21:12-13 KJV.

suggests that indigenous parishioners would have likely been familiar with the biblical episode of Christ's Purification of the Temple (Figure 50).¹⁰⁶

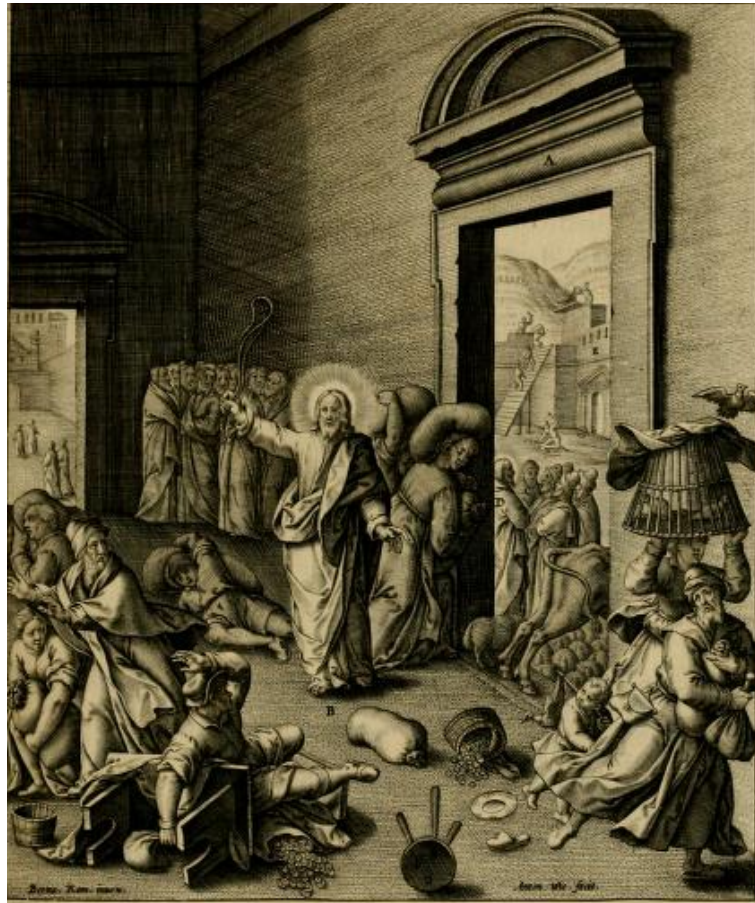


Figure 50: Gerónimo Nadal, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*, engraved by Jeronimus and Jan Wierix (Antwerp: Martinus Nutius), 1595.

A large, Romanesque pillar divides the painting into two asymmetrical spaces united by their shared subject matter—social-spiritual upheaval—and their settings in

¹⁰⁶ Flemish prints also inspired a series of eighteenth-century paintings in the Santa Teresa Convent in Ayacucho. María Concepción García Saiz, “Las *Imágenes de la Historia Evangélica* del P. Jerónimo Nadal y la pintura de Ayacucho (Perú),” *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* no. 4 (1988): 43-66.

open architectural interiors. The lack of textual enunciation in the neo-classical, well-balanced biblical setting on the left strikingly contrasts with the baroque surplus of visual and textual information represented in the localized Andean space on the right (Figure 49b).



Figure 49b: Detail. Jacinto Carbajal, “Unknown Title” circa 1780. Iglesia de Cayma, Peru.¹⁰⁷

The central position of the volcano Misti not only anchors the image within a local geographic space but also suggests its spiritual and historical significance. Like their Spanish and mestizo counterparts in the city of Arequipa, indigenous rural

¹⁰⁷ ARCHI (Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano).

parishioners recognized the imminent threat of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. The Bishop of Arequipa also acknowledged Misti's telluric power after the 1784 earthquake, when he claimed to have successfully conquered and Christianized the "pagan" mountain.

Significantly, in his painting Carbajal not only suggests Misti's continued association with indigenous idolatry and unorthodox practices involving non-indigenous persons that take place inside the Church of Cayma. For example, a group of devils around a fire at the base of the volcano invite churchgoers to stop praying and to join them in "having conversation" with the ancestral deity. Inside the church, demons and angels actively battle for the souls of local parishioners including not only indigenous peoples but also well-dressed Spaniards. One devil asks, "What do you think about that noise?" while a male interlocutor states that he is "thoroughly convinced" by the volcano's display of cosmological power. Nearby, another beast excitedly announces to a well-dressed Spaniard that the "the ship has come with the proclamation of trades" while beneath him two beasts document the scene like notaries predicting that "all will enter into the rack" and "nobody will escape" their punishments. A devil near the altar talks with a man in shadows, announcing the arrival of "the *chasqui* [indigenous messenger]" to which his interlocutor responds, "the great turning has come."

Contrasting with the figures on the left who are actively transacting with devils, in front of the Virgin's veiled altar-image are several devout Christians wearing European-

style clothing. For example, a nun donning a black veil clasps her hands reverentially exclaiming “My God, forgive our nonsense” while other angels assert “This is a house of devotion not on trade” and “Let us cry and placate God’s wrath.” In the middle of the church, a Spanish man with a staff exhorts parishioners to “mortify their senses [and] not look at the Jews.”¹⁰⁸ Beside the altar where a priest is shown officiating mass, other celestial figures verbally acknowledge their spiritual defeat by lamenting “They pay little attention” ignoring the fact that the devils are “leading them to perdition.” One woman approaches the altar and declares “these are my vows, we are all going to die” while another wealthy-looking Spanish or mestiza woman reaches out to accept the invitation of a beast who claims to “take away mourning.”

In the painting’s foreground a group of three kneeling indigenous persons clasp their hands reverentially and facing the altar with the image of the Virgin of Cayma. Above their heads, their appearance as exemplary Christians is recognized by the text: “Do not be horrified that the Indians win you in devotion.” However, beneath the feet of these Andean Christian an overturned globe crowned with a cross visualizes the prophetic inscription “Now you see that world is upside-down world.” Both the upper and bottom-most registers of the painting contain texts that explicitly invoke outside viewers:

¹⁰⁸ Even though indigenous peoples, unlike Jews, could not be prosecuted by the Spanish Inquisition in Lima, the painting’s textual inscription establishes their rhetorical equivalency as cultural *others* that equally threatened—through their religious heterodoxy—the Spanish Catholic colonial order. José Emilio Burucúa, “Ángeles arcabuceros: milenio, Anticristo, judíos y utopías en la cultura barroca de América del Sur,” *Temas Medievales* 3 (1993):83-118.

*“Catholics do not profane the house of God, look out that the sun does not fall on you. Let this painting we look at serve as a record of what the Holy Scriptures tell us.”*¹⁰⁹

Besides its visual and textual content, the painting’s display within the church also communicated symbolic meanings. Since it was hung beneath the choir upon entering the church and before partaking in liturgical functions of mass, indigenous parishioners would have been forced to gaze upon the monumental image. The painting ostensibly visualizes Zamácola’s fervent opposition towards the use of ecclesiastical space for non-liturgical functions, specifically, the longstanding practice of keeping the indigenous community cash box inside the sacristy. Native parishioners argued over their community finances in the sacristy so that, according to their parish priest, they continually polluted the church halls with their “shouting and commotion.”¹¹⁰

Whereas Zamácola likely intended this painting to communicate Christian piety to indigenous parishioners, Andean viewers may have also interpreted Carbajal’s visual symbolism in cultural ways that differed from their priest’s moralizing intentions. By situating Cayma in the subordinate right-hand space of Hurin and the biblical Christ in the left-hand superior space of Hanan, the painting not only parallels Andean spatial hierarchies but also suggests that the indigenous parish’s submission to the Christianity. Moreover, Carbajal not only highlights the presence of Spanish/*mestizo* who actively

¹⁰⁹ [...] *Esto nos dise la sagrada escritura. Miranos sirva de fiscal esta pintura.*

¹¹⁰ “[...] hayan hecho sala de gritería y alboroto en la sacristia.” From at least 1790 until 1820, the indigenous community coffer was stored inside the sacristy notwithstanding Zamácola’s fierce opposition. Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 394.

transact with devils but also visualizes indigenous persons as modeling exemplary Christian behavior. Though Zamácola sought to deploy building projects, mixed-race schools, and artworks to civilize and reform indigenous parishioners, Carbajal challenged the religious politics of its racist art patron by visually encoded Andean-Christian power in his paintings. Local parishioners not only read these hidden transcripts in Catholic paintings by drawing from their bicultural knowledge but also materialized their Andean-Christian power and privilege through artistic commissions.

Notwithstanding Zamácola's flagrant dismissal of artistic donations from indigenous parishioners, the financial investment of one local *vecino* (resident) is demonstrated in another late eighteenth-century painting displayed in the Church of Cayma. Though thematically paralleling the broader visual genealogy of the Virgin's miracles depicted by Carbajal—beginning with her 1540 mystical theophany before indigenous muleteers in Cayma—the fact that this image includes a highly-individualized portrait of its donor-devotee absent from the other miracle-narratives suggests it was not among the thirteen paintings commissioned by Zamácola. The painting's narrative inscription identifies its potential patron and miracle recipient as Lorenzo de la Cruz, a *vecino* (privileged resident) of Cayma who is represented within the image as well as in a donor-portrait (Figure 51).



Figure 51: Jacinto Carbajal, “The Virgin of Cayma’s Miracles,” circa 1780. Iglesia de Cayma, Peru. Photo: Courtesy Martín Silva.

According to the legend, while Lorenzo was traveling outside of the town—specifically in the Tambo Valley near Cuzco—he got sick with a malignant fever—likely typhus or influenza. Feverish and sweating, perhaps from typhus, he was prepared to “surrender his soul to the Creator” but also remembered to pray with “life faith” to “Mary, the source of all health, the Virgin of Cayma.” Evidently, his “pleas were not in vain” since after a time he had recovered his strength and was able to express his gratitude to the “Sovereign Virgin” by attending, along with his wife Juliana, her annual feast-day celebration in Cayma. The last few lines of the inscription, though almost

entirely illegible, states that “on another occasion... a furious bull” was on the verge of killing one of his male descendants but the Virgin of Cayma intervened, thus demonstrating her powerful patronage over the entire family.¹¹¹

The painting is neatly divided into three horizontal registers, two lateral registers which detail the miracles of the Virgin of Cayma referenced in the cartouche, and a middle register in which several figures are shown venerating the altar-statue of the Virgin of Cayma in an unspecified location. In the left-most register, a man dressed in Spanish attire (perhaps Lorenzo’s son) lies on the ground, about to be penetrated by the horns of a speckled bull, while another barefoot man looks on in horror. In contrast with this natural landscape, the right-hand side of the painting takes place indoors, specifically, in the domestic space of the bedroom. The central figure in this interior scene—Lorenzo—is poised to receive the last rites from a standing priest while a well-dressed woman—his wife Juliana—stands in front of the canopied bed. Other figures are also involved in attending to the dying man, including Lorenzo’s son, who is shown holding a silver bell in one hand and a candlestick in the other. Beside the priest, two young sacristans carry tall candelabras and bow their heads respectfully. The darkness of the somber interior scene is punctured by an open door which connects this interior scene to the exterior landscape in the left-hand register.

¹¹¹ It is possible that Lorenzo de la Cruz’s unidentified son was an indigenous man from Santa Marta, a nearby parish, named Matías de la Cruz. Zamácola’s 1820 church inventory mentions Matías de la Cruz’s monetary contribution of “only eight pesos” towards the cost of a new organ made by the Italian organ-maker Ventura Picchi. Bailey, *Andean Hybrid Baroque*, 392.

This painting suggests how devotion to the Virgin of Cayma was passed down within Lorenzo de la Cruz' family, such that the painting can be read as a composite hagiography or collective ex-voto of the Virgin's miracles. However, the image not only functions as the fulfillment of a holy vow—one in which the colonial devotee materializes his gratitude to the Virgin—but also visualizes how the sacred Andean power or *camay* embodied in material objects could later be transferred to persons. For example, on his deathbed Lorenzo de la Cruz mentally invoked the image/deity of the Virgin, and after his healing, he ritually-venerated her living altar-statue in the Church of Cayma. As the privileged recipient of the miracle, Lorenzo can be understood as partaking in the Virgin's *camay* so that he was part of a triadic relationship between the image/deity/devotee. In other words, the painting testifies the reciprocal relationship between visual devotion and embodied power. This mutual entanglement can also be read through the portrait of Lorenzo de la Cruz.

While his ethnic identity is unknown, Lorenzo's hybrid dress suggests he was either an *indio ladino* (Hispanicized Indian) or a *mestizo*.¹¹² He wears a common brown wool cloak of indigenous manufacture (*abasca*) over a European-style blue jacket and

¹¹² For a foundational analysis of the socio-political position and cultural identity of Hispanicized natives or *indios ladinos* in sixteenth-century colonial Peru, see: Rolena Adorno, "Images of *indios ladinos* in Early Colonial Peru," in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 232-270. On the strategic combination of indigenous and Hispanic cultural elements within colonial imagery, including donor portraits in religious paintings see: Scarlett O'Phelan, "El vestido como identidad étnica e indicador social de una cultura material," in *El Barroco Peruano. Tomo II* (Lima: Banco del Crédito del Perú, 2003), 99-133.

neckerchief. Despite his modest attire, Lorenzo holds a richly-embroidered white banner that signals his power as a governing member of a local confraternity. He may have occupied the privileged office of the *alférez real* (royal standard-banner) or served as a *majordomo*, an administrative official who organized the Virgin's annual feast-day celebrations in Cayma.

Even in the absence of an artist's contract, the existence of this painting sheds light on the intimate connections between spiritual, economic, and political power. Lorenzo likely specified that his donor-portrait be included in the painting, thereby symbolically killing two birds with one stone by commemorating his devotion to the Virgin while also visually signaling his elite status within the local Andean community. Though the painting is neither signed nor dated, its singular importance is suggested by the fact that this is the only miracle-narrative in the church that includes a donor-portrait. In his proverbial chauvinism, Zamácola explained that even though Lorenzo de la Cruz had financed the construction of one of four stone arches flanking the entrance to the town, the priest himself supplied him with "many of the measured stones, lime, and some money."¹¹³ Evidently, Lorenzo was not only intimately involved in the urban

¹¹³ "[...] lo costeó Lorenzo de la Cruz, pero yo le ayudé con muchas piedras de medida, cal y algún dinero." Juan Domingo Zamácola y Jauregui, *Apuntes para la historia de Arequipa*, 39. Cited in Gutiérrez, "La iglesia de Cayma," 52.

development of Cayma but also consolidated his own individual status through votive paintings that associated him with the popular and powerful Virgin of Cayma.¹¹⁴

Conclusion: Colonial Visions of the Andean Sacred Power

This chapter has examined the entangled visual histories of missionary Catholicism and Andean ritual understandings of the cosmological landscape between the sixteenth and late eighteenth-centuries. Seventeenth-century Catholic priests promoted the cultural reconfiguration of Christianity in the Andes by symbolically conflating the Virgin Mary with sacred silver-mountain of Potosí. Similarly, indigenous populations conceptually linked miracle-working images of the Virgin, both imported from Europe and produced by native artists, with ancestral Andean deities associated with geographic features. Just as colonized native populations embraced Catholicism according to their own cultural parameters of ritual power, they also renewed European pictorial traditions, adopting them to reconfigure Andean notions of cosmological power under Spanish colonialism.

Late eighteenth-century paintings of the miracles of the Virgin of Cayma, whether financed by the Spanish priest or local parishioners, all testified to the vibrancy of indigenous ways of seeing and apprehending the Andean sacred. The miracle-narratives produced by the Cuzco painter Jacinto Carbajal, for example, articulated meanings

¹¹⁴ For an analysis of donor-portraits included in eighteenth-century votive paintings of the Lord of Miracles, a Crucified Christ sculpture venerated in Cuzco after the 1650 earthquake, see: Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Cult, Countenance, and Community: Donor Portraits from the Colonial Andes," *Religion and the Arts* 15, no. 4 (2011): 429–59.

through a symbolic visual syntax legible to Spanish and Andean viewers but whose culturally-specific significances also varied. This chapter has argued that the Virgin of Caymas's painted miracles transgressed their priest Zamácola's civilizing agendas through their visual syntax that localized the Andean sacred *camay* within the symbolic space of the Church.

Conclusions

This dissertation has tracked the connected histories of conquest and slavery that mutually informed perceptions and representations of race and color difference in the “Old World” contexts of Europe and Africa as well as the “New World” contexts of Brazil and Peru. It has argued that indigenous and black populations were connected through the universal Catholic Monarchy that granted vassals and slaves legal protections and religious privileges. Beginning with two black saints associated with trans-Saharan slavery that circulated from the Mediterranean basin across the seventeenth-century Spanish and Portuguese empires, I show how blackness was mobilized through artworks and writings that dialogued with trans-Atlantic debates about the meanings of color-difference. The dynamic social mobility of African slaves, blacks, and mulatto who, by the eighteenth-century, constituted an overwhelming demographic majority in the wealthy mining frontier region of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais also challenged fixed understandings of blackness and power.¹

In 1801, the mulatto painter Manoel da Costa Ataíde, “Mestre Ataíde,” (1762-

¹ The Portuguese Church was constructed in accordance with a 1765 blueprint produced by the renowned mulatto architect-sculptor-gilder Antônio Francisco Lisboa, commonly referred to by his nickname “O Aleijadinho” (“The Little Cripple”). While a Portuguese master stonemason oversaw the building’s construction between 1766 and 1794, Aleijadinho sculpted the church’s elaborate stone façade and ornamented its interior by crafting its main altarpieces and pulpits in wood. Vanessa Aparecida Teixeira Proença-Junqueira, “Capela da Ordem Terceira de São Francisco de Assis de Ouro Preto: um guia comentado,” MA Thesis, Departamento de História do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas (São Paulo: Universidade Estadual de Campinas), 2006.

1830) was commissioned to decorate the nave of the recently-constructed Church of the Portuguese Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais. To depict “The Glorification of the Virgin Mary,” the self-taught Ataíde used his family as a model: the mulatta Maria do Carmo Raimunda da Silva appears as Virgin Mary surrounded by angels and musicians in the likeness of their mulatto children (Figure 52).

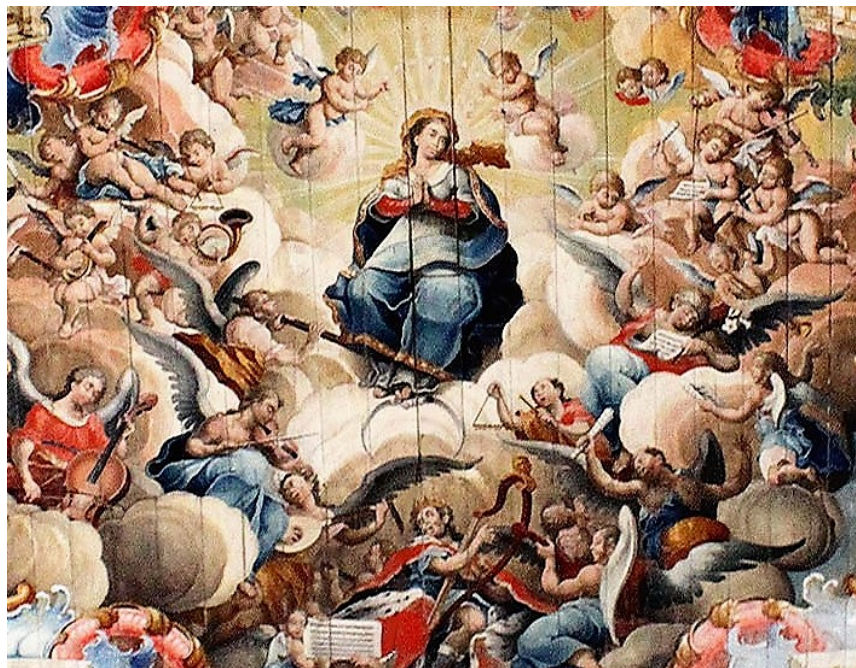


Figure 52: Mestre Ataíde, “Glorification of the Virgin,” 1803. Oil painting on wood panel. Church of Saint Francis of Assisi, Ouro Preto, Brazil. Photographed by Ricardo André Frantz. CC-BY-3.0.

Whereas late seventeenth-century African-descent populations in Salvador de Bahia visually mobilized Saint Benedict and Saint Anthony to disassociate blackness from slavery, Mestre Ataíde elevated his own mulatto family to the realm of the saints. In doing so, he symbolically transgressed the Portuguese Third Order’s purity-of-blood legislation while bearing witness to the political empowerment of free blacks who

occupied privileged positions in the municipal government. By symbolically recreating “Old” World African Christianities linked to Central African sovereigns or by visualizing the multiple hues of sanctity in paintings, Africans and their descendents in Brazil sought to disassociate themselves from slavery and assert color as power.

Andean natives in post-Conquest Peru performed a “New” World Catholicism in which they not only sought to dissociate themselves from paganism but also to link themselves to the Incas whose political authority had been recognized by the Spanish Crown. However, this two-republic system that had previously granted native authorities with a measure of cultural, political, and economic autonomy was officially abolished in the wake of the violence anti-colonial rebellions and counter-insurgencies that wreaked havoc across the southern Andean highlands. Moreover, the Bourbon state also sought to eradicate the historical power of the Incas from cultural memory. Besides destroying paintings of the rebel Inca Tupac Amaru, public displays of Inca royal insignia were prohibited and spoken Quechua became a taboo. The master painter Tadeo Escalante (ca. 1770-1838) articulated the violent upheaval of colonial Andean society in series of allegorical paintings of death, judgment, heaven, and hell, that decorated an indigenous parish church on the outskirts of Cuzco (Figure 53).



Figure 53: Tadeo Escalante, “Hell” 1802 mural painting. Church of San Juan Bautista de Huaru, Peru. Photographed by Daniel Giannoni. ²

In his 1802 painting of Hell for example, Escalante depicts a surplus of naked white bodies spiraling through flaming space while being tortured by anthropomorphic devils. The varied green, red, and brown coloration of the demons intensifies the visual contrast with the pale-skinned uniformity of the condemned, while drawing the viewer’s attention to three persons whose appearance is differentiated. Beside a wheel of tortures and set within the liminal space of a boiling cauldron, a friar, a bishop, and a cardinal are

² *ARCHI* “Iglesia de Huaru, el Infierno Tadeo Escalante,” Id: 02.000104.002.

poisoned to be devoured by the jaws of the Leviathan (Figure 53a).³



Figure 53a: Detail “Hell” 1802 mural painting.

Through his mural program, Escalante appropriates traditional European iconography and eschatological traditions to symbolically invert colonial hierarchies. The Spanish Catholic elites are marked as sinners and fixed under the painter’s colonizing gaze. As such, Escalante powerfully evokes a metaphor of divine retribution as a balancing act, one in which earthly privilege is weighed against subterranean torture. Escalante’s painting of infernal punishment inscribed a visual counterclaim within the literal and mystical body of the Church in which Andeans, Spaniards, and mestizos were equally weighed against their earthly sins.

The chaotic violence of the Spanish colonialism expressed through Escalante’s

³ For an excellent visual analysis of Escalante’s murals as they are linked to the specific cultural and historical context of the Andean anti-colonial rebellions, see: Cohen, *Heaven Hell and Everything in Between*, 145-181.

imagery required novel formulations of the social order during the post-Independence period seized upon by the Afro-Peruvian painter José Gil de Castro “El Mulatto” (1785-1841). Born in Lima and the son of a *pardo* military officer and a manumitted slave, Gil de Castro garnered privilege through his skills as a painter and, in 1808, he established his own workshop in Santiago, Chile. Celebrated for his portraits of creole elites, he was elected Master of the Painters’ Guild of the *Cabildo of Santiago*, the highest official position of any artist of the period.⁴ Years later, when the Chilean Liberation armies of Bernardo O’Higgins and José de San Martín crossed the Andean Cordillera, Gil was swept up by the revolutionary fervor; he joined the military carrying along his paintbrushes.⁵ After fighting under the victorious campaign of José de San Martín for the liberation of his natal country Peru, in 1822 Gil returned to Lima as the Official Painter of Peruvian Chambers of Government. Six years later, he produced one of his most celebrated portraits of a Peruvian national hero named José de Olaya (Figure 54).

⁴ Gil’s father, don José Mariano Carvajal Castro, had probably benefitted from the 1765 royal decree that allowed professional armies of blacks and mulattos to be created in Spanish America.

⁵ In the army, Gil not only earned the title of Captain of the Disciplined Military, but also learned engineering, topography, cosmography, and drawing. Between 1817 and 1823 José Gil is said to have painted 58 portraits.



Figure 54: José Gil de Castro, “José Olaya,” 1828. Oil on canvas, 204 x 137 cm. Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Peru, Lima.⁶

An Indian fisherman from Chorrillos, Olaya swam seven miles from the port of Collao to Lima to deliver a message to liberation forces. When intercepted by the

⁶ Image Source: ARCHI, “Retrato de José Olaya,” Id. 03.000558.00. Photo Daniel Giannoni.

Spanish forces, Olaya swallowed the letter he was carrying. Though tortured for information, the young man refused to reveal anything on the whereabouts of the Liberation Army and, in 1823, he was executed in Lima's Plaza de Armas. Rather than visualizing Olaya as a humble fisherman, Gil de Castro represents him dressed in a pristine white suit, thus clothing him in the colors of Catholic martyrdom. The symbolic apotheosis of Olaya as a republican saint is further suggested by his central location within a dark rocky landscape that visually signals his violent death at the hands of Spanish royalists and under a red banner. The textual inscription in golden letters enthrones the painting's subject by identifying him as "the Patriot Don José de Olaya gloriously served his *PATRIA* and honored the place of his birth."⁷ Facing frontally, the dark-skinned man establishes a reciprocal gaze with the outside viewer, beckoning them to read his offered message. He grasps a folded letter in his outstretched hand in which the legibility of the word "Callao" signifies his geographic location. On the ground, a cartouche further clarifies the historical significance of the painting's subject matter. Its textual inscription explains, "Don José Olaya was born in the town of Chorillos in 1782 and was distinguished by his exceptional patriotism...he preferred to suffer martyrdom and endured a thousand lashes and even death rather than give up the persons that he was serving."⁸ Never before in Peruvian painting was

⁷ El patriota D. José Olaya sirvió con gloria ala PATRIA y honró el lugar de su nacimiento.

⁸ "Don José Olaya nació en el pueblo de Chorillos del año de 1782 fue muy distinguido por su singular patriotismo fue tan constante...por unas autoridades que hallaban en el Callao con correspondencia a esta

an Indian depicted as an autonomous, heroic person. Art historian Luis Eduardo Wuffarden describes the significance of this triumphant painting for Peruvian art history writing,

Though singular for its patriotic pomp, the image of Olaya is also crucial to the history of Peruvian painting. In it, diverse genres and styles are joined. Among them, the portrait and the landscape; it simultaneously invokes courtly paintings, glimpses of romanticism, and an insinuated anticipation of *costumbrismo*.⁹

More importantly, the portrait signals towards the divergences between social reality and the political discourse of racial equality of the post-Independent republics. By glorifying Olaya as a national martyr capable of symbolizing the republican ideals of liberty, equality, and citizenship, Gil de Castro not only performed his new-found identity as a “citizen” of the Peruvian nation, but also visually countered colonial discourse on race by positioning himself and other non-white subjects on equal footing with Hispanic creoles.

The way in which the Afro-Peruvian artist experientially bridged colonialism and independence over the course of his lifetime parallels his hybrid visual production. Borrowing from a spiritual lexicon, Gil crafts a patriotic discourse in which peoples of African, indigenous, and European descent are equally empowered as citizens. Through

Capital se ocupaban los Españoles prefirió el martirio y sufrió mil palos y la muerte antes de declarar las personas a quienes sirvieron.”

⁹ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, “Gil de Castro, retratista sin rostro.” *José Gil de Castro*. Catalogue. (Banco Continental del Perú: Lima), 1988.

his visual apotheosis of the indigenous Olaya, he self-referentially communicates his own racial equality as a member of the emergent republic. Ultimately, the painting narrates an unfolding dialogue that borrows from the saints' visual lexicon to inculcate republican promises of racial equality and liberty.

The trajectory that I have traced from late colonial paintings to Gil de Castro's portrait of Republican martyrdom illustrates a visual currency of saintly devotion that transcends artificial divides between the colonial and the postcolonial. The processual configuration of colonial ritual practices and image-objects associated with Andean conquest and African slavery continued to influence the meanings of color-difference, race, and power long after Peruvian and Brazilian independence. Whereas Catholic discourse promised heavenly equality of souls, emancipatory republicanism made an oath of earthly equality of citizens; neither one evenly crossed racial, class, and gender divides. By drawing out the allegiances and tensions between the written and pictorial archive, my dissertation offers methodological possibilities for thinking about historical narratives of power that colored religious perceptions about race.

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